

taken by them as referring to a *rājā* of that name,¹ while, as is clear from the context, it refers in reality to Śiva, the main deity of the shrine.

The only information we get from the inscription regarding *Gaganaśiva āchārya* is that he hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha. In this connection Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has kindly directed my attention to the Mattamayūra school of Śaiva ascetics, suggesting thereby that *Gaganaśiva* might have been one of them, as the names of some of them likewise end in *śiva*. This argument receives further support from the identification of *Uttara-Tērambagriha* with *Tērambi* as proposed below. *Tērambi*, it may be pointed out, is known from the Rāṇōd inscription to be the seat of an earlier Śaiva saint of the Mattamayūra line, whose name is not given but who is styled *Tērambipāla*, i. e., 'the protector of *Tērambi*'.²

The saints of the Mattamayūra sect are known to have founded temples, tanks and monasteries at various places, being highly honoured and favoured with munificent gifts by certain Kalachuri rulers.³ The Rāṇōd inscription itself belongs to one such sage, called *Vyōmaśiva*, who is stated to have restored to Raṇipadra⁴ its past glory⁵ and beautified the *maṭha* there by building in its vicinity a magnificent tank, a temple, a garden and shrines with images of Śiva, Umā, Nāṭyēśvara and Vināyaka.⁶ Of all these, prominence is given to the tank, the construction of which forms the main object of the record and which is glorified in no less than twenty verses (vv. 45-64). The line of disciples given in this record is as follows:⁷ Kadambaguh-ādhipati, Śaṅkhamāthik-ādhipati, Tērambipāla, Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha, Purandara, Kachaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛidayēśa and Vyōmaśiva. Of these Purandara is described to have founded two *maṭhas*, one at Mattamayūra and the other at Raṇipadra. The latter place, it is narrated, was subsequently graced by Sadāśiva by doing penance there, while still later, as has already been stated, its grandeur was revived and enhanced by Vyōmaśiva. From the numerous laudatory verses in praise of Vyōmaśiva we gather that he was an ascetic of a very high order and a profound scholar, well-versed in the *Śaiva-siddhāntas* as well as in the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya *śāstras*, equally proficient in the Lōkāyata, Bauddha and Jaina doctrines, who could easily silence his opponents in a debate, so much so that he is related to be a second omniscient Śaṅkara (i. e., Śiva) incarnate.⁸

Now, considering that *Vyōmaśiva*, so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is the same as *Gaganaśiva*, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that *Vyōmaśiva* is variously mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription by such equivalent appellations as *Gaganaśa* (v. 39), *Vyōmaśambhu* (v. 41), *Vyōmēśa* (v. 50) and *Gaganaśaśimauli* (v. 65). The same will be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, *Hṛidayēśa* of the Rāṇōd inscription

¹ The Secretary to the Cabinet, Pāṭṇā State, has kindly placed at my disposal copies of certain manuscripts by the late Mr. Manbodh Sahu, a resident of that State. One of them contains a transcript of the present inscription, with some notes regarding its contents. I find most of the text read by Mr. Sahu to be correct, except that he has, after the Oriya fashion, used *b* for *v* in his transliteration. As regards the contents of the record, while his explanation of it improves little upon that given by Mr. Beglar and Sir Cunningham, he follows them in regarding *Sōmēśvaradēva* as referring to a royal personage.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 355, v. 9.

³ See R. D. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (A. S. I. Memoirs, No. 23), pp. 110 ff.

⁴ R. D. Banerji wrongly gives it as Raṇipadra.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 357, v. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 359, vv. 43, 44.

⁷ For a fuller list and a more detailed account the reader is referred to R. D. Banerji's monograph, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Compare especially the verses 36-39 of the Rāṇōd inscription.

is called Hridayaśiva in the Bilhari inscription.¹ It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayūra sages it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though merely to conform to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyōmaśiva and Gaganaśiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of Tērambi being identical with Uttara-Tērambagriha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyōmaśiva with Gaganaśiva, and that is the name *Raṇipadra*. Has this name anything to do with Rānipur Jhariāl? Referring to the deserted temples at this latter place, Mr. Beglar points out that 'they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten'.² But one may as well ask: Can it not be that we have a replica of Raṇipadra itself in Rānipur Jhariāl, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, viz., Vyōmaśiva or Gaganaśiva?

However plausible the above argument may appear, the whole question has to be left undecided in the absence of more convincing evidence. The verbal likeness between *Raṇipadra* and *Rānipur* may be as accidental as may the similarity between *Vyōmaśiva* and *Gaganaśiva* be fortuitous. And when we consider how ill compares the faulty and clumsy construction of the present brief record with the chaste and ornate composition of the copious inscription from Rāṇōd, the former depicting Gaganaśiva as a mediocre abbot and the latter representing Vyōmaśiva as a great celebrity among the learned and the holy, the possibility of the two being identical becomes remoter still. There is, however, no such obstacle in accepting Tērambi being the same as Uttara-Tērambagriha and Gaganaśiva being connected with the Mattamayūra sect of Śaiva saints.

As regards the location of the places referred to above, Raṇipadra has been taken to be Rāṇōd itself, an old decayed town in the state of Gwālior, about half way between Jhānsī and Guna.³ Tērambi, it is suggested, may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Rāṇōd,⁴ and which seems also to represent the Uttara-Tērambagriha of the inscription under discussion, unless, as a partial phonetic resemblance between the names would suggest, it be identified with the modern Tarbhā, an important mart in the Sonapur State, lying on the borders of the Pāṭṇā State, some sixty-five miles north-east of Rānipur Jhariāl, which seems less probable.

TEXT⁵.

CORRECTED TEXT.

1 [. . . ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसो-
मेश्वरदेवभट्टारकपरमेश्वरप्रसादीः ।
श्रीउत्तरेश्वरगृहविनिर्गतगगनशिवा-

ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवभट्टार-
कपरमेश्वरप्रसादिश्रीउत्तरेश्वरगृह-
विनिर्गतगगनशिवा-

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 259, v. 54.² *Loc. cit.*, p. 128.³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 351 and 353⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 353.⁵ From ink-impressions.⁶ It cannot be ascertained whether the stone contained any more letters before the conjecturally supplied two syllables *Om na*.⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

2 ¹अभिधा[... ..]ाचार्येन¹ इदं स्थानं
कीर्तितं सर्वं । तीर्थफलसमायोगं
लोकातुगाहकं पुंन्यं । सोमस्वामि-
सिद्धेश्वरं ।

3 लक्ष्मीनामचतुर्थकं ॥ इदं तीर्थं स्नात्वा²
सर्वपापविमोचनः । श्रीसोमेशनाथ-
यस्तव पादयुगलेः आराधनैकतत्परः³]

4 प्रणमति गगनशिवं यदि बद्धो मुक्ति-
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा बन्ध-
नसमर्थस्तपं किन्न भवति ॥ स्त-⁴
वापि स्वामिनो ज-

5 गत्पति[र्व]न्ध्वा मोक्षन्ददासि

6 गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

भिधा[नसिद्ध?]ाचार्येण¹ इदं स्थानं कीर्तितं
सर्वतीर्थफलसमायोगं लोकातुगाहकं
पुण्यं सोमस्वामिसिद्धेश्वर-

लक्ष्मीचतुर्थकं नाम तीर्थं स्नात्वा² सर्व-
पापविमोचनम् । श्रीसोमेशनाथ-
तव पादयुगलेः आराधनैकतत्परः

प्रणमति गगनशिवः । यदि बद्धो मुक्ति-
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा
बन्धनसमर्थः । तपसि किन्न भवति ॥
तवापि स्वामिनो ज-

गत्पतिर्वन्धं वा मोक्षन्ददासि

गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. Obeisance to Śiva ! The *ācārya* (or *śrī-gaṇāpati* ?) named Gaganāśiva, an immigrant from the glorious Uttara-Tērambagriha, (*who has been*) favoured with a boon by the Supreme Master, the Lord, the illustrious god Sōmēśvara, has built this (*holy*) place which combines in itself the merit of all the holy places, is beneficent for the people, and is sacred, containing (*the images of the four gods*) namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī as the fourth. This holy place delivers (*one*) of all sins, if (*one*) bathes (*here*).⁹ O Śrī-Sōmēśa-nātha ! Gaganāśiva, being ever full of devotion, bows at your pair of feet. O Śaṅkara ! you bestow salvation (*on your devotee*), if (*he*) is in bondage. You are able even to put (*one*) into bondage, (*if one*) is freed. ¹⁰What is not possible through penance ?the lord of the universe, you give bondage or liberation. But Gagana alone (*is* ?) this lord Śiva.

B.—Kēnduvalli Temple Inscription.

At a little distance in front of the Mahādēva temple described above, there is another, called **Kēnduvalli temple**, which is much smaller in size. The face of the rock on which

¹ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

² Between *pu* and *nyam* traces are visible of a cancelled letter which seems to have been a *na*.

³ The reading is probably *Svāmi*-, only the subscript *v* is not clear.

⁴ The usage of this absolute gerund for a conditional clause is unusual.

⁵ This is equivalent to *śrī-Sōmēśvarādēva*.

⁶ This can also be read as *stath=ūpi*.

⁷ From here onwards the sense is not very clear to me.

⁸ These names have been discussed in the introduction.

⁹ See above, n. 4.

¹⁰ See above, n. 7.

it stands is carved with figures of *narā-gaṇas*. The present short inscription is engraved to the left of these carvings. Owing to the exposure, both the drawings and the epigraph are badly weather-worn and can be made out only with difficulty.

The inscription consists of four short lines, each about a foot and a quarter in length, comprising one stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; thus every line containing one quarter of the verse.

The **characters** are similar to those of the record **A.** already dealt with. The inscription can thus be assigned roughly to the 10th century A.D., which would also be the date of the temple the erection of which is recorded in it.

The **language** is Sanskrit, practically without any mistake. In point of **orthography** the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddhō* (l. 1) may be noted. The significance of the words *kīrti*= and *prakīrti* has been discussed above.¹

The record simply informs us that one **Dēvānanda**, son of Jōgēśvara, has raised this shrine in honour of Kṛishṇa, by which evidently the present Kēnduvalli temple itself is meant. It cannot be ascertained from the inscription whether the name Kēnduvalli is the same as was originally given to the shrine or whether it came to be attached to it later on. It is, however, only from this epigraph that we learn that the shrine was dedicated to Kṛishṇa, as the monument itself in its present condition is totally bereft of its original contents. As is evidenced by this as well as by the previous record, the temples of Rānipur Jhariāl were devoted to various deities. It must, therefore, have been a place of pilgrimage for Hindu devotees of all persuasions.

No information is given regarding Dēvānanda and his father Jōgēśvara so as to determine whether the builder of this Kṛishṇa temple was also an *āchārya* or simply a layman.

TEXT.²

- 1 जोगेश्वरसुतः सु(शु)द्धो
- 2 देवानन्देति³ विद्युतः ।
- 3 तेन कृष्णोपचारेण
- 4 कौर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

Jōgēśvara (*had*) a son, well-known as Dēvānanda. This temple is constructed by him in honour of Kṛishṇa.

C.—Rākshasa-parvata Inscription.

This inscription is cut on the top of a rocky elevation known as Rākshasa-parvata, lying opposite the Kēnduvalli temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line-drawing, representing a pair of human footprints enclosed within a rayed circle. The engraving of both the drawing and the writing is shallow.

¹ See above p. 240.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Strictly speaking, it ought to have been *Dēvānanda iti*, but *sandhi* has been made through the exigency of the metre. Or, the name *Dēvānanda* is used here *avibhaktika*, i.e., without the case-termination.

The writing consists of three very small lines, each about eight inches long, comprising half a *śloka*. The **characters** appear to be somewhat later in date than those of the previous two records, but belong to the same type. The **language** is Sanskrit. The **purport** of the record is the consecration of the foot-marks (at the instance of a *siddhāchārya* ?) which are engraved near by, though the text is rather obscure. The nimbus around the foot-impressions denotes the holiness of the person to whom they belong, but there is nothing to show whether the person is a god or a saint.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॐ² प्र[तिष्ठा]यसि-
- 2 दं प[द्यं] सिद्धा-
- 3 चार्येण वाचितं[*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. *Siddhāchārya* has declared this footprint to be consecrated.

No. 33.—ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.

By PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

While on a visit to Allahābād, Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, B.A., LL.B., the devoted founder and maker of the Allahābād Municipal Museum, showed to me an inscribed fragmentary stone pillar, which had been acquired for the museum some months ago. This interesting monument hailed from the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, in Allahābād District, which was a well-known and flourishing city in ancient India. Rai Bahadur Vyas kindly supplied to me an ink-impression of the inscription on the pillar, after I had read it from the original, and requested me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly.

The inscription has been inscribed on a stone pillar, which, in its original form, was obviously intended to be a *yūpa*. The pillar has been sadly mutilated; only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left, has been recovered. To judge from the angles of these facets, it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one. It thus resembled the main shafts of the *yūpas* at Īsāpur, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh. For further information about the size, nature and significance of sacrificial pillars, I may refer the reader to my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita year 295' published *ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

As in the case of the Īsāpur *yūpa*, the inscription on this pillar also has been engraved in horizontal lines. In this respect it differs from the rather inconvenient arrangement to be seen on the *yūpas* at Nāndsā, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, where the records have been inscribed in long vertical lines to be read from the top to the bottom or *vice versa*.³ The extant portion of the inscription extends over 16 lines. From its concluding sentence, 'May Mahēśvara, thus honoured, be pleased over and over again', it is clear that the record ends with the last words of the present last line.

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [There are two records on the pillar of Nāndsā containing practically the identical text. One of these is written in vertical and the other in horizontal lines.—Ed.]

It may be recalled that the Īsāpur *yūpa* record also ends similarly, ' May the fires be pleased '. We may therefore confidently conclude that our record did not run into any lower line over a facet which has been destroyed.

The general arrangement of the record and the purport of the lines preserved make it further certain that the present first line was preceded by two earlier ones, which referred to the first two sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. This point will be further explained later.

The portion of the inscription that has been inscribed on the completely preserved facet of the pillar and also over a small fraction of the facet on its left, makes it clear that each facet was intended to have one quartrain of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It is thus clear that at least the metrical part of the record was inscribed over the four out of the eight facets of the *yūpa*. The same probably was the arrangement in the case of the last five lines, which are in prose.

The **characters** of the inscription, which has been engraved very carefully and beautifully, belong to about the 2nd century of the Christian era. The form of the letters *na*, *ṇa*, *la*, and *sa* makes it quite clear that the record is much earlier than the Gupta period. It would be instructive to compare its characters with those of the Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Baḍvā *yūpas*, erected respectively in the 24th year of emperor Vāsishka, and 282nd and 295th year of the Kṛita, i.e., Vikrama era. Unlike in any of the above dated records, in our epigraph, the forms of the medial short and long *i* are denoted by one and two curvilinear lines respectively, placed over the top of the letter; the later practice of using for this purpose curves turning to the left and right, which we see in Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Baḍvā records, is not known to our epigraph. The central stroke of *śa* is still slanting downwards; this is an archaic characteristic and is not to be seen in any of the above records. *Na* and *ṇa* have only a slight bend in the base line; the former has not yet developed a hook, and the latter shows no tendency to develop any curve at the top. The central bar of *ka* is still a straight line; it has not become curved as at Nāndsā and Baḍvā. The vertical of *la* has not yet developed a curve at the top as at Baḍvā. *Ya* shows no loop in the left limb as at Nāndsā and Baḍvā. The letter *da* still retains its archaic form and opens to the left as in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Rudradāman. Palaeography would therefore show that this *yūpa* inscription is earlier than the *yūpa* records, referred to above; we may, therefore, with fair certainty, place it in the first part of the 2nd century A.D., if not even a little earlier.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, but there are the following mistakes in it. *Chchhh* in *uchchhritaḥ* or *samuchchhritaḥ* has been throughout represented by *chh*; see ll. 1, 2, 7. In l. 7 °*vimśē* has been wrongly spelt as °*vīmśē*. In l. 10 *dātvēva* is probably a mistake for *dattu=aira*. At the end of the l. 13, there is a *sandhi* mistake; instead of *tasmīnn=ēv=āhani* the record reads *tasmīnnēv=āhani*. The last five lines of the record are in prose, but its first 11 lines are in verse, the metre being *Anuṣṭubh*. The same probably was the case with the first two lines of the record that have now been lost.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. An *anuvāra* is indicated by a dot above the letter; it is not changed to the nasal of the class of the letter following; see ll. 6, 8. *Va* has been changed into *ba* in the word *Kaubidārikā*, l. 12.¹ Consonants are not doubled when they are conjoined with a preceding *r*; cf. [*chatu*] *rithaḥ*, l. 2, °*r=bhōktavyam*, l. 15. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed; °*dbhiḥ charakav*° (l. 15) is the only exception. There are no punctuation marks at the end of sentences or verses. At the end of l. 15, there is a small horizontal stroke which was perhaps intended to be a punctuation mark. The verses are numbered at the end. There is a separate numbering for the verses in sections A and B of the record.

¹ [See p. 249, n. 3 below.—Ed.]

Symbols for all the **numerals** from 1 to 9 appear in the record. They are similar to those found in the Nāsik and Kushāṇa inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

As regards the **date**, it is clear from l. 7 that the record was inscribed in the **23rd regnal year** of a certain king. But as his name is not preserved in the extant part of the inscription, we cannot utilise this information for determining its date. Paleographical evidence therefore affords the only clue; it points to the early part of the 2nd century A.D. as the probable date of the record, as shown already above.

Though the inscription is very fragmentary, its main purpose can be ascertained fairly satisfactorily. It divides itself into three parts, part A consisting of ll. 1-7, part B of ll. 8-11, and part C of ll. 12-16. Part A commemorates the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the performance of seven Sōma sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. The sacrificer was almost certainly **Śivadatta**, who was a very trusted minister of a certain king, whose name has been lost. That he performed the various sacrifices comprised in the group of seven Sōma sacrifices becomes clear from the fact that only seven sacrifices are mentioned, and that—to judge from the wording in ll. 3 and 5—they have been counted from *Agnishṭōma*. Line 5 further shows that the 5th sacrifice in the series was *Vājapēya*. Such actually is the case with the sacrifices in *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. For the sacrifices included in this group are *Agnishṭōma*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptoryāma*, and they are to be performed in the stated order.¹

In the Vedic age the Sōma sacrifice was very common and its most popular form was *Agnishṭōma*, so called because the last of its twelve chants was called *Agnishṭōma-sāman*. The other six sacrifices included in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*, enumerated in the preceding, differ from *Agnishṭōma* only in minor details. This group of seven Sōma sacrifices seems to have been very popular when the Vedic religion was in ascendancy, for one Dharmasūtra writer has elevated them to the status of the *saṁskāras*.² It is clear that the idea was that these sacrifices should be performed by every householder as regularly as the sacraments like the *upanayana* and *antyeṣṭi*. As a matter of fact we sometimes find even the Gṛihya sacrifices, which were very numerous, being artificially grouped into a *sapta-pākayajña-samsthā* on the analogy of the *sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā*.³ This would show how great was the importance that was attached to the seven Sōma sacrifices of this group. It is, however, interesting to note that the present is the first case of our having discovered any *yūpa* referring to their performance. The Bijayagaḍh *yūpa* and the *yūpas* of king Mūlavarman of Borneo do not mention the name of the sacrifice in connection with which they were erected.⁴ The Īśāpur *yūpa* commemorates the celebration of a *Deśaśa-rātra* sacrifice, and the Nāndsā *yūpa* of the *Shashṭi-rātra*, as would appear from the preliminary note published about its inscription by Mr. Haldar.⁵ Each of the three Baḍvā *yūpa* inscriptions that have so far been published, refers to the *Trirātra* sacrifice and another from the place, which is published below, commemorates an *Aptoryāma* sacrifice. The present record is therefore the first one published so far that refers to the celebration of all the seven sacrifices included in the famous *Sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā*.

¹ *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, X, 9, 27. In the enumeration of these sacrifices as given in *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, *Ukthya*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirātra* occupy the 2nd, 6th, 3rd and 4th position respectively.

² *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*.

³ *Baudhāyana-Gṛihyasūtra*, I, 1, 1.

⁴ [In one of the inscriptions of Mūlavarman, Bahusuvarṇaka has been taken by Kern as a synonym of Banu-hiranya, a Sōma sacrifice.—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 53. [The sacrifice mentioned in this record is *Ēka-shashṭi-rātra*.—Ed.]

Section A of the record, consisting of ll. 1-7, refers to the erection of seven pillars in connection with the seven Sōma sacrifices referred to above. The first line of the record, which has been numbered 3 at its end, begins with a fragmentary letter which was clearly *t*, and which is followed by *yō yūpa a[eh*]chhritah*. It is clear that we have to restore the first word as *trityō* and that the line refers to the erection of the third *yūpa* in connection with the third sacrifice of Sōma group, viz., the *Utkhya*. Of the first word in l. 2, which has been numbered 4 at the end, only two letters **rthas=ta* have been preserved. It is however clear that we have to restore the word as *chaturthas=ta* and the line thus refers to the erection of the fourth resplendent *yūpa*. The next line in the inscription, which is numbered 5, refers to the fifth one from *Agnishōma*; as the sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā* were numbered from *Agnishōma*, its first member, the line refers to the erection of the fifth *yūpa* in connection with the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, which is the fifth one in the series. The next line, which contains the verse numbered 6 in the record, refers to the sixth one from the first sacrifice. Obviously when complete, it described the erection of the 6th *yūpa* in connection with the *Atirātra* sacrifice, which is the 6th member in the Sōma group. The next line, containing the verse 7, refers to the seventh *yūpa* from *Agnishōma*, and obviously must have referred to the *Aptōyāmā* sacrifice, which was the last one in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā* group. It would now become clear from this that the original record contained two more lines in the beginning, which have been now completely lost and which must have referred to the erection of two *yūpas* in connection with *Agnishōma* and *Atyagnishōma* sacrifices, which were the first and second member respectively in the series of seven Sōma sacrifices.

Though not originally included in the group of Sōma sacrifices by the earlier Samhitās, the 5th sacrifice in this series, the *Vājapēya*, soon assumed very great importance, and became associated with royal coronation. The 6th line of our record [*pratha*]mād=*yajñāt pañchamō Vājapēyikah* refers to something connected with this sacrifice, as its concluding adjective would show. As the record is fragmentary, we cannot be sure about the purport of this line. It is, however, permissible to conjecture that the line referred once more to the *yūpa* of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and that it is identical with the one we have discovered. It would appear that though seven *yūpas* were duly set up by the sacrificer, he decided to select the *yūpa* of *Vājapēya* sacrifice for the honour of bearing the inscription, commemorating the performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices. Other *yūpas* were probably merely erected but not inscribed. We can now understand how only one of the sacrificial pillars found at Īsāpur bears an inscription. When several *yūpas* were erected in connection with a sacrificial *sattra*, it was customary to inscribe the relevant inscription on only one of them. The *yūpas* at Baḍvā are all inscribed, because they refer to sacrifices performed, no doubt on the same day, but by different sacrificers. Each sacrificer was anxious to commemorate his sacrifice separately.

The 7th line of the record stated the time of the performance of these sacrifices. The date was given not in any era but in the regnal year of a king. Unfortunately for history, the name of this potentate has been lost. The only restoration possible of the first crucial word in the line is [*trayō*]-*vīmśē*; the first fragmentary letter may possibly be taken as *pā*, but it can give no word for a numeral in combination with *vīmśē* following. On the other hand it could very well have been a part of the letter *yō*. In that case the word can be restored as *trayōvīm(vim)śē*, as pointed out above. The record therefore was undoubtedly dated in the 23rd year of a king, whose name has now been lost.

Section B of the record, consisting of ll. 8-11, is again in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It was intended to give us information about the honorarium paid to the Brāhmaṇas, who officiated at these sacrifices. It is almost certain from these lines that the sacrificer was not the king, but a minister of his.

His name Śivadatta appears in l. 8 and he is probably once more referred to in l. 11 as 'a friend of the king', the form *rājāmitraḥ* being probably a mistake for *rājāmitram*.¹ The first word of l. 8 can certainly be restored as *grāmaṁ*. The line, therefore, mentioned a village given to the minister Śivadatta, obviously by the king. In l. 9 the word *grāma* occurs as an object of a sentence and l. 10 refers to the payment of *dakṣhiṇā*. It would therefore appear that a village, which had been originally given by the king to his minister Śivadatta, was subsequently transferred by him as *dakṣhiṇā* to the priests, who officiated in his sacrificial session. Each Sōma sacrifice required 16 priests; if different sets of priests had officiated at each of the seven Sōma sacrifices performed by Śivadatta, the total number of persons entitled for the sacrificial fee would have been 112. Though an entire village was thus alienated, each donee probably received only $\frac{1}{112}$ th part of its revenues. The total *dakṣhiṇā*, which Śivadatta had to pay on the occasion, undoubtedly constituted a big amount, and it will incidentally remind us of the oft-repeated observation that the Vedic sacrifices represented the religion of rich aristocracy and were beyond the means of ordinary individuals.

Section C of the record, consisting of ll. 12-16, is in prose² and these lines have not been numbered. As the lines are fragmentary, their purport can only be conjectured. Line 12 describes the homage paid to *Kaṇḍīdārikā* and the first part of l. 13 refers to some merit available in this and the next life. *Kōvidūra* is the name of a tree, favourite to Śiva like Bilva.³ It would appear that Śiva was the tutelary deity of the minister Śivadatta and these lines refer to the planting of a Kōvidūra grove, *Kaṇḍīdārikāṁ* [*काण्डिदारिका*], apparently in the garden of a Śiva temple, and the homage paid to it on the occasion. The merit of this religious act was probably described in the greater part of the next line, i.e., l. 13.

Ll. 14-16, along with the last six letters of l. 13, refer to another gift made on the same day. The last line (l. 16) expresses the hope that Mahēśvara, thus honoured, may be pleased over and over again. It would therefore appear that the donee of this second gift was a Śiva temple. L. 15 states that wandering mendicants should be supplied with food. It would appear that this temple of Śiva had a *śatṛa* attached to it, and that a portion of the donation was reserved for the expenses connected with it. Epigraphs of later days refer to several such *śatṛas* maintained by temple authorities, where poor men, wandering mendicants and students were offered free food.⁴ L. 14 and a portion of l. 15 describe the gift given. The extant portion of the inscription does not specifically describe the object of this gift, but to judge from the expression *sarva-jāta-bhṛggaṁ* and *abhrīta-pravṛṣyaṁ*, it is obvious that the gift made was of a village. Whether the donor was the king or his minister Śivadatta we do not know; probably it was the latter.

Though the record is very fragmentary, we can thus ascertain its purport almost completely. The loss of the name of the king, whom Śivadatta was serving as a minister, is, however, an irreparable historical loss. Had his name been preserved, we would probably have been able to date the record and get some welcome information about the contemporary history.

The contents of the record, as made out above, would show that it is a very interesting epigraph. It not only refers to the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the

¹ [Probably we have to take Rājāmitra here as a proper name as the case termination indicates.—Ed.]

² [We cannot determine if the whole of this portion is in prose. The opening portion of l. 13 appears to be in *Anuṣṭubh* metre, while the last line decidedly conforms to *Vamśasthavilā* metre.—Ed.]

³ कौविदारे च बिल्वे च सदा संनिहितः शिवः ।

I am indebted to Pandit Chinnaśwami Shastri, Vice-Principal, Oriental College, Benares Hindu University, for drawing my attention to this line. [*Kōbidārikā* and *Kōśambaka*, apparently as place names, occur in the Indore Plates of Pravarasēna II (above, p. 55).—Ed.]

⁴ See *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 355; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 129-31, Vol. V, p. 344; *E. C.*, Vol. I, No. 45.

performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices, but also records a donation made on the same day, and probably by the same donor and of the same value, to a temple of Śiva. The record thus shows how in the everyday life of the second century Hindu community, Vedic and Paurāṇic religions were harmoniously blended together. The concluding portion of the Īśāpur *yūpa* inscription is 'Prīṇant[ā]ṇu=, *āguayā*[*l*]', and it is quite appropriate in a record describing a Vedic sacrifice. In our epigraph, however, the concluding sentence expresses the hope that Śiva may be pleased. Of course this is probably due to the last recorded donation being in favour of a Śiva temple. It would however also attest to the growing hold of the Paurāṇic religion even on the minds of those who were taking an active part in the revival of the Vedic religion.

TEXT.¹

A

- 1 [हृत्तौ²]यो यूप उद्धितः³ [॥*]२⁴ [॥*]
- 2 [चतु*]र्धस्तु⁵ श्रीमान्यूपः समुद्धितः⁶ [॥*] ४ [॥*]
- 3 [त*]तो⁷ विद्वानग्निष्टोमात्तु पंचमम् [॥*] ५ [॥*]
- 4 [त*]तोनेन प⁸ष्ठस्तु प्रथमात्क्र¹⁰तोः [॥*] ६ [॥*]
- 5 [हृत्त*]⁹दान्यूपमग्निष्टोमात्तु सप्तमम् [॥*] ७ [॥*]
- 6 [प्रथ¹¹*]माद्यज्ञात्पंचमो वाजपेयिकः [॥*] ८ [॥*]
- 7 [चये¹²]¹³विंशे¹³ वर्षे यूपः समुद्धितः¹⁴ [॥*] ९ [॥*]

B

- 8 [या¹⁵]मं शिवदत्ताय मंत्रिणे [॥*] १ [॥*]
- 9 [स*]¹⁶चिवो ग्रामं राज्ञो महात्मनः [॥*] २ [॥*]

¹ From the original and ink-impression.

² A part of the letter *h* can be seen in the ink-impression.

³ Read *uchchhritah*.

⁴ Read 3. The upper horizontal line in the symbol for 3 has been destroyed.

⁵ For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

⁶ Read *samuchchhritah*.

⁷ The first letter *ta* of this line appears to have the mark of a medial *i* above it in the ink-impression. It is, however, merely a crevice in the stone, caused when the pillar was mutilated. There is no clear sign of medial *ō* also on the second letter. This letter is, however, the 6th one in an *Anuṣṭubh* quatrain and should therefore be a long one. The reading and restoration *tatō* seems to be very probable. Compare [*ta*]tō=*nēna* at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

⁹ Read *shashthas*.

¹⁰ The subscript *kra* of this conjunct has penetrated into the lower line.

¹¹ The right portion of the circle of *tha* can be seen in the ink-impression.

¹² The first fragmentary letter of this line can also be read as *pā*, but when joined to the word *vīmśē* following, it cannot combine into any suitable word. It must therefore be taken to be the right hand portion of *yō*; *trayō-vīmśē* then is the only restoration possible.

¹³ Read *vīmśē*.

¹⁴ Read *samuchchhritah*.

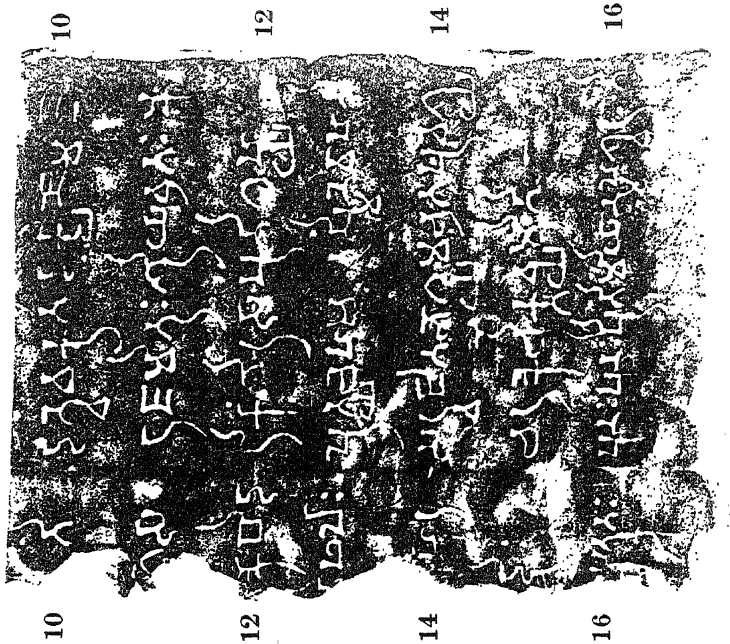
¹⁵ A comparison of the remnant of this letter with the letter *grā* occurring in the next line shows that it could have been nothing else than *grā* when in undamaged condition.

¹⁶ This restoration is rendered probable by the word *māntrinē* occurring in the preceding line.



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 Rec. No. 1902 E 38-275.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.



SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 10 -ति¹ दावेव² कृतदक्षिणम्³ [॥*] ३ [॥*]
 11 [यश⁴]सा⁴ राजमिन्नः श्रिया वृतः [॥*] ४ [॥*]

C

- 12 कौबिदारिकां शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य
 13 - फलाः⁵ प्रेत्य चेह च [॥*] तस्मिन्ने⁶वाहनि
 14 - हार⁷ सर्वजातभोग्यमभृत⁸प्रवेशं
 15 [आगच्छ*]द्भिः⁹ ¹⁰हरद्वौर्भौक्तव्यमिति ¹¹
 16 स¹²त्कृतः पुनः पुनः प्रीतिमियान्महेश्वर इति [॥*]

No. 34.—FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

By PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

While editing my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛita year 295', I had observed that a fourth sacrificial pillar should have originally existed in the locality. I had thought that a Satī stone, existing not far from the locality and bearing the letters *yajñō* in the characters of about the 3rd century A.D., was probably a fragment of the fourth pillar.¹³ Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, the State Historian, Kotah, however, now reports to me that a fourth *yūpa*, complete in every respect, was discovered in another part of the same village. It bears a general resemblance to the three *yūpas* already discovered, whose photographs were published along with my paper on the inscriptions engraved upon them.¹⁴ The new *yūpa* also

¹ The letter preceding *tim* had a medial *i* mark which can be seen in the impression. It is, however, not possible to restore the word.

² Read *dattv=aiya*.

³ Read *-dakṣiṇām*.

⁴ The first broken letter was obviously *śa*; compare it with the form of this letter in ll. 7, 8, 12, 14, etc. The restoration *yaśasā* is therefore very probable, the metrical irregularity not being a serious one. [The proposed restoration is doubtful. According to the rules of prosody the two syllables preceding *sā* in this case should ordinarily be long. In fact there seems to be a sign of medial *ē* attached to the seventh syllable of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

⁵ The letters *phalāḥ* are preceded by a fragmentary letter, which looks like *ti*. *Phalāḥ* obviously must have formed the concluding part of a compound, but it is difficult to restore it with confidence.

⁶ Read *tasminn=ēv=āhani*.

⁷ Read *hāram*. The word may have been *agrahāram*.

⁸ Village grants usually use the word *bhāṭa* in this connection; here its original Sanskrit form has been preferred.

⁹ This restoration is conjectural, but it is rendered highly probable by the word *charakaiḥ* following.

¹⁰ Read *°dbhis=charakair=*.

¹¹ This stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke. It cannot stand for the numeral 1 here as it does in l. 8.

¹² A greater part of the letter *sa* is visible in the impression.

¹³ *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, plate facing page 53.

bears an inscription written, as on the other *yūpas* in this locality, in a long vertical line. Dr. Machurahl has kindly sent me an ink-impression of the record with a request to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*: I am doing so accordingly.

As in the case of other sacrificial pillars at Baḍvā, the surface of this pillar also is not properly dressed. Some of the letters of the record have not therefore come out well in the impression. The mason was also not very careful in his work. Thus in *ga* of *gava* (l. 2), he has engraved a third slanting stroke; *na* in *Dhanutrāta* (l. 1) has been tacked on to its preceding letter and the engraving of *spa* and *va* is throughout very shabby. The characters of the record show a close resemblance to those on the other sacrificial pillars from this village, already published. Though the record is not dated, on palæographical grounds it can well be placed with confidence in the third century A.D., to which period the other Maukhari records of the locality belong.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Unlike the other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this inscription is composed in poetry. It consists only of a single verse in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The record, though short, contains several mistakes, which will be indicated in the foot-notes.

The purport of the record is to announce that the pillar upon which it has been engraved, is a *yūpa* erected in *Aptōryama* sacrifice performed by *Dhanutrāta*, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan, and that a sacrificial fee of one thousand cows was paid on the occasion to the officiating Brāhmanas. Unlike other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this record does not bear any date at its beginning. The name of the sacrificer *Dhanutrāta*, 'one protected by his bow', and of his father *Hastin*, 'Elephant', would suggest that the family was of the Kshatriya stock. Neither the sacrificer nor his father bears any feudatory or military titles like *Sāmanta* or *Sēnāpati*. It may be that the family of Hastin had not yet risen high in the military or administrative hierarchy like that of Bala, who was a *Mahāsēnāpati* or a commander-in-chief in 239 A.D. Or, it may be that in the short space of a single *Anuṣṭubh* verse, this information could not be imparted by the versifier. The former seems to have been the probable alternative; had *Dhanutrāta* or his father acquired any feudatory or military rank, the versifier would certainly have been ordered to compose a second verse, announcing this distinction. Another facet of the pillar could have been utilised for this purpose, as has been done in the case of the *yūpa* of Balasīmha from this locality.

The Baḍvā *yūpa* records would show that there were several Maukhari families settled in the locality during the 3rd century A.D. They were probably the scions of one and the same stock. Records discovered so far do not establish any blood relationship between the families of Bala and Hastin, apart from the suggestion conveyed by their surname. All the Maukhari families were following the military profession and some of them like that of Bala had risen very high in military hierarchy. Probably several villages, if not Tahsils, in modern Kotah state in the vicinity of Baḍvā and Kotah were assigned to them as military *jāgīrs*.

The sacrifice performed by *Dhanutrāta* was *Aptōryama*. It is a variety of the one day *Sōma* sacrifice, but occupied, like the *Atirātra* sacrifice, a whole day and extended through the next night. It marks a further elaboration of the *Atirātra* sacrifice, inasmuch as it added four extra *atōtras* and *śastras* to it at the end.¹ It forms the last member of the famous group of seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. For further information on this point see my paper on 'Allahābād Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription', *ante*, pp. 245 ff.

¹ Keith: *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, introduction, p. CXVII.

FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

Left Section.



Middle Section.



Right Section.



TEXT.¹

Mōkharēr=Hastī²-puttrasya **Dhanuttrā³tasya** dhimataḥ [|*]
 Aptō[r]jy[ā]mṇa[h] kratōh⁴ yūpaḥ sahasrō gava-dakṣhiṇā⁵ [|*]

TRANSLATION.

This is the *yūpa* of the Aptōryāma sacrifice performed by the wise **Dhanuttrāta**, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan; an honorarium of a thousand cows (*was given on the occasion*).

No. 35.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 81.

By KRISHNA DEVA, M.A.

This inscription which is engraved on a large slab of sand-stone, was discovered early in December 1937 in the course of an exploration of the ancient site of **Kosam** and its neighbourhood in the district of Allahābād by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was dug out, 2 ft. below surface, from the western bank of an old dried up *nālā*, once draining into the Jumna, near the village **Nauhāi**, nearly 1½ miles north-west of the well-known Kosam Pillar. I am grateful to Mr. Majumdar for kindly supplying me with an estampage of the inscription and providing me with facilities for editing it.

The epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The writing, which is neatly incised in two lines, covers a space of 2' 8" × 4" and is engraved breadthwise at one end of the huge rectangular slab, measuring 7' in length, 2' 9" in width and 6" in thickness. The size of the letters varies in length from 1" to 2".

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the later Kushāṇa period. The majority of the letters used are Kushāṇa while a few like *m* and *h* show advanced forms which are rare in the Kushāṇa documents but are of common occurrence in the Gupta records. The inscription, however, bears a close resemblance to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Kanishka⁶ with which it also agrees in the use of *m*, *h* and *s* (e.g. *maharajasya*, l. 1) of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. The signs used for representing the medial vowels—*ā* and *ē* by horizontal side strokes (e.g. *āsana-paṭṭā*, l. 2; *savatsarē*, l. 1), *i* by a curve to left on top of the consonant (e.g. *divasē*, l. 1), *ī* by a U-shaped sign at the top of the letter (e.g. *dvitīya*, l. 1) and *ri* by a line, slanting from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards left (e.g. *grishma*, l. 1)—as well as the forms of the letters *n* and *ṇ* with curved base-lines (e.g. *āsana-paṭṭā* and *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *g* and *ś* with rounded tops (e.g. *grishma-pakṣhē*, l. 1; *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *gh*, *j*, *p* and *v* with flat angular forms (e.g. *Bhādrāmaghasya*, *maharajasya*, *pakṣhē* and *savatsarē*, l. 1) and the initial *ā* with the bar denoting its length attached lower down (e.g. *āsana-paṭṭā*, l. 2)—are typical of the Kushāṇa writing. The forms of *g*, *t*, *bh* and *ś* show the pre-Gupta type inasmuch as in each case their verticals are of the same length. Similarly noteworthy is the letter *śh* with unlooped form and archaic round base. Incidentally we may also notice some peculiarities which are evidently due to the engraver's carelessness; the middle horizontal bar of the first *sa* in *savatsarē* (l. 1) is missing

¹ From an ink impression.

² Read *Hasti*.

³ Owing to the carelessness of the mason, the three letters in *dhanuttrā* have been all joined together.

⁴ Read *ōtōr=yūpaḥ*.

⁵ Read *sahasra-gava-dakṣhiṇā*.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.

and the base line of *na* in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has on either side been bent so low that it is difficult to distinguish it from *ta*; compare *ēkaṣṭī* (l. 1) for the latter.

The **language** of the inscription is the usual mixed dialect of the Kushāṇa documents. The form *grishma* for *grīshma* is noteworthy. As regards the expressions *maharajasa* (l. 1) and *stha pata* (l. 2) we are not sure whether the shortening of the long vowels in these is due to a mistake in spelling or to Prakritism. The plural form in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has a parallel in *ājyāga-paṭṭā*, occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions.¹

The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of *āsana-paṭṭas*, i.e. seats by a guild of stone-masons in the **year 81, second fortnight of the summer and fifth day**, during the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*. Judging from its shape and enormous size, its well-dressed smooth surface and the position occupied by the inscribed portion, we may safely conclude that the slab itself is being adverted to as one of the *āsana-paṭṭas*. It is interesting to note that two more inscriptions from Kosam, referring to the year 87 of Bhādrāmāgha,² are incised on slabs, similarly labelled as *āsana-paṭṭas*. One of the latter epigraphs explicitly states that the *āsana-paṭṭa* was set up at a tank. The fact that the present inscription has been unearthed from the bank of what looks like an ancient canal confirms that it was customary at the time to set up *āsana-paṭṭas* at the bathing ghāts. The inscription furnishes the earliest known date for the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*, viz., the year 81. So far only two dates, years 86³ and 87, were known for the reign of this king. The inscription, therefore, shows that *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha* had a reign extending over at least seven years.

The record testifies to the existence of a **guild of stone-masons** in the Kosam region during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is interesting to note in this connection that within two hundred yards of the find spot of the inscription there is a sandstone quarry, popularly known as Pathar Khān, with remains of ancient workings visible on the spot. It is not improbable that this quarry supplied the stone-masons with requisite material for practising their craft.

There is a striking family-likeness in point of script, language, style and the peculiar method of dating, giving in order the year, number of fortnight in the season and the day, between this and a series of **dated records**, coming from the Kosam region. That these inscriptions together with the present one are dated in a continuous, though unfortunately unspecified, reckoning, ranging from the year 52 to the year 130, seems probable. The inscriptions are as follows:—

1. Ginja inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*—year 52.⁴
2. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 81.⁵
3. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 86.⁶
4. 5. Two Kosam inscriptions of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 87.⁷
6. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Śivāmāgha*—year lost.⁸
7. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*—year 107.⁹
8. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīma-varman*—year 130.¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 397, No. XXXV.

² *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff., above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

³ The year in the Kosam inscription of Bhādrāmāgha, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III, is read by Sahni, its editor, as 88, whereas Jayaswal takes it to be 86, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 230. The latter reading seems to be preferable. Compare also Dr. Sten Konow's remarks above, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

⁴ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119, Pl. XXX; and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

⁵ The present inscription.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III.

⁷ *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, No. II.

⁹ See above, pp. 146 ff.

¹⁰ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 177 ff.

The question of the attribution of the above to a known era bristles with difficulties. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni who edited Nos. 3 and 6 was inclined to refer them to the Gupta era.¹ Dr. Jayaswal, on the other hand, followed General Cunningham² who refers No. 1 to the pre-Gupta period and definitely held that these are to be assigned to the Chēdi era of 248 A. D.³ This is supported by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh who refers No. 8 to the same reckoning.⁴ The editor of Nos. 4-5, however, thinks that these might be attributed to the era of either 78 A. D. or 120 A. D.⁵

Now as the whole controversy mainly hinges on palæographical evidence, it is worth while to examine the exact relationship of the script of our inscriptions to that of the Kushāna records on the one hand and the Gupta on the other. No. 1 of our list, which bears the earliest date, is palæographically earlier than the remaining Kosam inscriptions and is, in fact, hardly distinguishable from the general body of the imperial Kushāna documents except for the use of *m* and *h* of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which links it with the Kosam series. It is to be noted that it shows the archaic unlooped type of the dental sibilant which is invariably replaced by the looped type in all the Kosam records save the last, namely No. 8, where both forms appear side by side. At the other extreme is No. 7 of our list, which though not the latest in date, nevertheless, closely approaches the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta⁶ in its comparatively mature and cursive style of writing, in the use of pronounced top-strokes and in the representation of some of the individual letters like *n* with a loop, *j* with the bent vertical, *p* with an acute angle, *v*, *d*, *dh*, *y* and *l*, besides *m*, *h* and *s* which are common with the majority of the Kosam records. While noting the likenesses we should also not ignore the points of disagreement between the two which go to show that No. 7 is not exactly as advanced as and consequently slightly earlier than the Allahābād pillar inscription. To illustrate, while the former uses the older forms of *t*, *g*, *ś*, and *bh*, with equal verticals, in the latter usually the right limb of each of these is longer than the corresponding left; the letter *śh* in the former is of the archaic unlooped variety while the latter contains the more advanced looped type; *ṇ* in the latter is distinguished by its cursive looped or unlooped form while the former always shows the Kushāna form of the letter with the curved base-line; the medial *i* in the former as in all the earlier records is represented by a curved stroke at the top of the consonant while in the latter the left limb of the curve is occasionally lengthened below the top line, a feature characteristic of the Gupta script. It will thus be seen that whereas No. 1 appears to be not much posterior to the latest records belonging to the Great Kushānas, No. 7 is perhaps not far removed in time from the Allahābād inscription. Within the limit set by these two may be placed the remaining Kosam records including the present one, which bear affinity to the Gupta characters in the case of a handful of signs and to the Kushāna in that of a larger number but whose general ductus of hand shows greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāna, without approximating the Gupta in cursiveness. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the Kosam records, which, as already observed above, present striking family-likeness one to the other, belong to the period of transition between the Kushāna and the Gupta and may roughly be assigned sometime from the third century to the first half of the fourth century A. D.

This is strikingly corroborated by the stratigraphical evidence of the Bhita sealings of Bhīma-sēna and Śivamagha, which were discovered little above the Kushāna level.⁷ The remarkable

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160.

² Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 179.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1.

⁷ *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1911-12, pp. 32 and 51, sealings 26 and 27.

³ *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 229-30.

⁵ *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 106-07.

paleographical similarity between these and the Kosam records has led Dr. Jayaswal to convincingly identify Rājan Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasēna¹, and Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the sealings with Mahārāja Bhīmsēna and Mahārāja Śivamagha of Nos. 1 and 6, respectively.² The transitional character of the language employed in the Kosam records also points in the same direction. It reveals an unmistakable tendency towards progressive Sanskritisation without altogether eliminating the Prākṛit forms and expressions. Lastly, there is no evidence to show that the peculiar method of dating uniformly adopted in the Kosam records was continued in Northern India in the Gupta period. Even in the Kushāṇa period its use seems to have been limited. From the foregoing considerations it seems unlikely that our inscriptions should refer themselves to either the Śaka or the Gupta era, as one becomes too early and the other too late. We will, therefore, be not far from right if we provisionally assign our inscriptions to the **Chēdi era** of 248 A. D. which strikes a golden mean between the two extremes. Referred to this reckoning the dates on the Kosam series will be equivalent to 300-378 A. D. and that on the present epigraph to 329 A. D. In this connection the possibility of our having to reckon with a local era, current in the Kosam region, as suggested by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh³ cannot be overlooked. The final solution of the problem, however, is possible only on the discovery of fresh evidence of a more decisive character.

TEXT.

1 Maharajasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya savatsarē ōkasītē 80 1 grishma-pakshē⁴
dvitīya(yē) 2 divasē pañchamē 5.

2 ētayē puruvayē Katsa-pasraharika-śrēṇiya āsana-paṭṭā sthapata.⁵

TRANSLATION.

In the year eighty—one, 81, (*in the reign*) of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Bhadrāmagha in the second, 2, fortnight of the summer, on the fifth, 5, day ; on (*the date specified as*) above the slab-seats were set up by the guild of the stone-masons of Katsa.

No. 36.—DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

By P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR.

It has been my privilege to recover within the last two years three inscribed marble pillars at **Dharanikōṭa** in the Guntur District on the information supplied by a local resident. Subsequently I brought them to the notice of the authorities of the Archaeological Department, who have got them removed to Amarāvati where other antiquities of the place are preserved. I edit below one of the three epigraphs at the instance of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, while the remaining two are dealt with by some other scholars.

The shaft or pillar on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is square at its base and hexagonal above. The base is decorated with some carvings, representing a casket and a floral design in the centre, a hooded Nāga on the left and a railing with a sun-window on the right.

¹ [It may be mentioned here that a recently discovered inscription at Bandhogarh in the Rewah State belonging to year 51 of the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasēna styles this ruler as Vasiṭhipūta—a fact which makes the identification certain.—Ed.]

² *Hist. of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 108, 229-30.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 716.

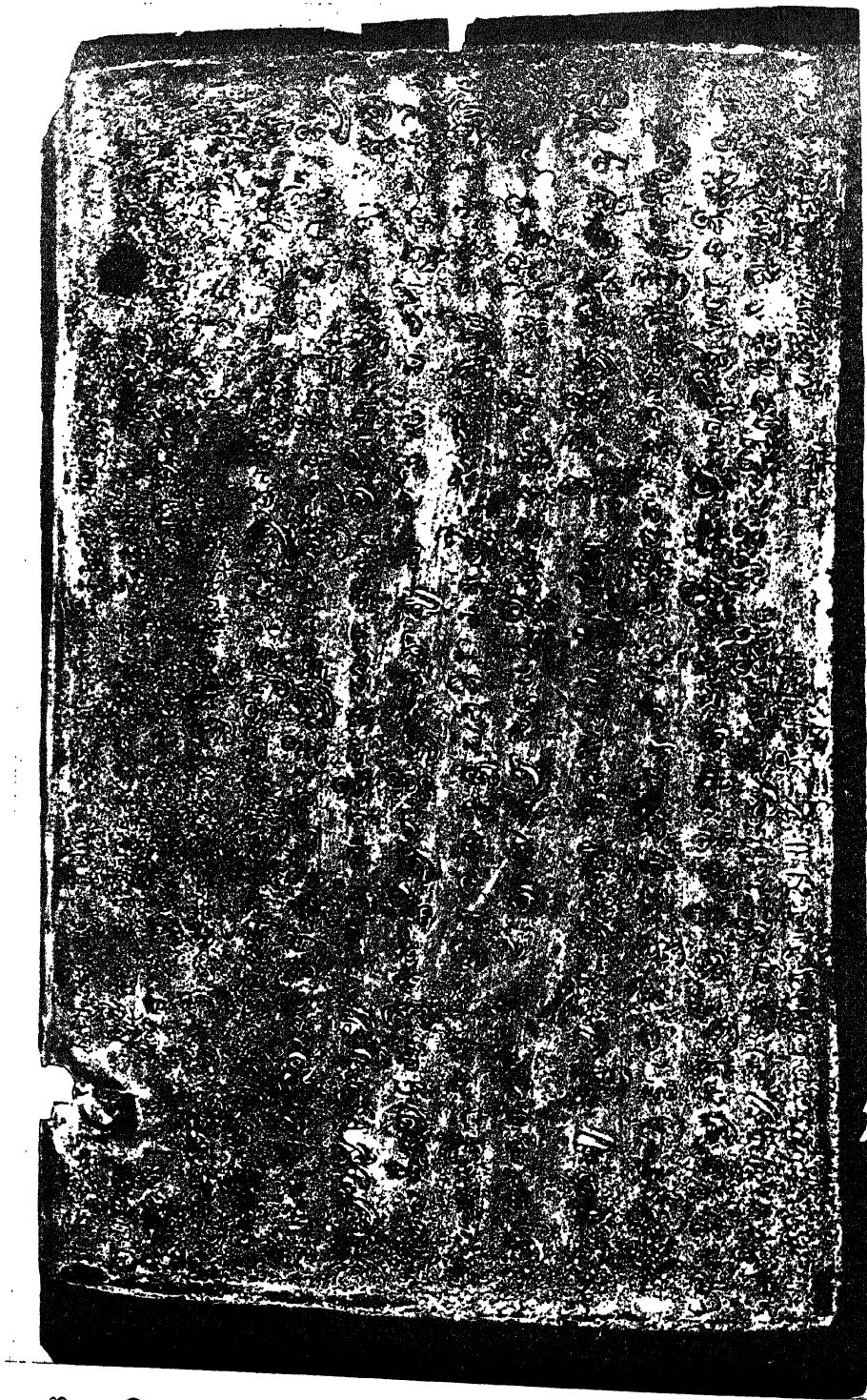
⁵ Read *sthāpitāh*.

⁴ Read *grishma-pakshē*.

BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II: [VALABHI-] SAMVAT 254.

Plate II. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 180-181).

(From a photograph).



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The pillar is called in the inscription *Dhamachaka-dhaya* (Skt. *Dharmachakra-dhaya*) from which it is evident that it originally had a sculptural device of the *Dharmachakra* on its top. Several *Dharmachakra* pillars of this type have already been discovered at the ancient site of Amarāvati.¹ From a sculptured slab representing a *stūpa* we get some idea of the position which such posts used to occupy. There two very elaborately carved *Dharmachakra* columns are shown flanking an entrance to the *stūpa*.²

Unfortunately, a part of the present pillar is broken off at the top and is missing. As a result thereof a considerable portion of the inscription has been lost to us in the beginning which evidently contained the name of the ruler of the locality as well as the date of the record. Some details of the donor's description are also lost in the missing portion. Besides, a few letters in l. 4 have been obliterated and cannot be restored. The rest of the epigraph, though blurred at places, can be made out fairly.

The **alphabet** is Brāhmī of about the second century A.D., and resembles that found in many an early inscription from Amarāvati. The **language** is Prākṛit of the same type as is used in most of the Amarāvati records.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of the *Dharmachakra-dhaya* at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra at **Dhañakaḍa**,³ the modern Dharanikōṭa. The Mahāvihāra is stated to have been in possession of the Buddhists of the **Pūrvaśailīya** school, about whom we shall discuss more below.

The name of the donor or the individual who set up the pillar has apparently been omitted in the record. He is, however, stated to be son of Viraskanda (?) and described as an Agalokaka Atapora minister⁴. As to whose minister he was is not explicit. Nor is the reading of his father's name *Virakkada* free from doubt. The epithet preceding this name must have referred to the donor, as is obvious from its case-termination in the instrumental. Before this occurs the name Khadanāga (Skandanāga). This person is said to be a householder (*kōṇubika*, Skt. *kauṇṭhika*), but his relation with the donor cannot be ascertained owing to the gap. The meanings of the terms *Agalokaka* and *Atapora* are not clear. As both of them are attributes of the donor, they probably refer to his original home and to his place of residence respectively unless they have been used in some technical sense.

Atapora, as already remarked, perhaps indicates the donor's place of residence. A similar instance is furnished by a short votive inscription from Sānchi, which calls the donor there *Adhaporika*.⁵ This term has been explained as 'inhabitant of Adhapura', while the Sanskrit equivalent for *Adhapura* has been suggested to be *Arđhapura*. The place has, however, not been identified.

¹ Cf. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXII, 2; Pl. XXXVIII, 1; Pl. XL, 3, 4; etc.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. I, the frontispiece. Compare also E. B. Havell's *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 61, Pl. XII, fig. A.

³ The same place is mentioned under its variant names such as *Dhañnakaḍa*, *Dhañnakaṭa* and *Dhañnakaṭaka* in other inscriptions of about the same period; see Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1205, 1225 and 1271; above, Vol. XV, pp. 262-263, Nos. 4 and 5. See also N. L. De's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, s.v. Dhanakataka, where it is stated to be a corruption of *Sudhanyakataka*. Hiuen Tsiang mentions T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakataka) as the name of a country (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.). T. Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 216) restores the name to Skt. *Dhanyakataka* on the evidence of the Tibetan rendering of it. In later inscriptions the name of the place is spelt as *Dhanyaghataka* and *Dhanyānkapura*; see above, Vol. XV, pp. 261-262. Prof. Vogel suggests that "the remains of Nāgārjunikonda can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhañnakaṭaka (above, Vol. XX, p. 9).

⁴ See below p. 259, n. 10.

⁵ Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 600; above, Vol. II, p. 112, No. 13.

I would rather restore *Adhaporika* to *Ārdhahapurika* and explain it as 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'. This place seems to be identical with the modern Rithpur which is well known to the Indian archaeologist as the provenance of a copper-plate inscription of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā.¹ It is situated in 21° 14' N. and 77° 51' E. in the district of Amraoti, Berār, and is reputed to be an old city of importance.² It is not unlikely that *Atapora* of the present record is likewise to be understood as *Ārdhahapura*, meaning 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'.

A pillar inscription from Amarāvati³ reads *Chetikiyānām* (Skt. *Chaitikīyānām*) where our inscription has *Purasel[i]yāna* (Skt. *Pūrvasailīyānām*). In explaining the import of the former, Burgess has pointed out that 'the Stūpa belonged to the Chaitika school, otherwise called the school of the Pūrvasailas, a subdivision of the Mahāsaṃghikas'.⁴ Mention is made of these ascetics also in a fragmentary Prākṛit inscription from Allūru in the N. ... Kistna District, the last line of which reads as follows : *ayirāna Puraseliy[ā]na nigāyasa*.⁵ In the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon the Pubbaseliya and the Aparaseliya are mentioned⁶ among the different sub-sects of the Mahāsaṃghika school. Dr. W. Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, renders the two terms as 'the first Seliya... the other Seliyā,' whereas the words *pubba* and *apara* of the original evidently refer to 'east' and 'west' rather than to 'first' and 'other'. In fact, Hiuen Tsiang, while describing the country of Dhanakāṭaka, informs us that 'to the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Pūrvasilā' and 'to the west of the city leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avarasilā'.⁷ In this connection we may cite Prof. Vogel's following remark : "Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvasaila and Avarasaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means "stone".⁸ It becomes thus clear that the two sects Pūrvasailiya and Aparasailiya were so called after the two congregations of monks, one residing in a monastery on the Eastern Hill and the other dwelling in a convent on the Western Hill.⁹ Among the localities mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription referred to above, we come across 'the name Purvasela which is clearly a Prākṛit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvasaila' and possibly refers to the very mountain on which the Pūrvasailiya monastery was situated. As regards the location of the two mounts, Burgess and Fergusson identified the Amarāvati tope with the Pūrvasilā and the Aparasilā respectively, but their identification has been questioned.¹⁰ There can, however, be little doubt that the situation of the two hills is to be sought in that very neighbourhood.

As has been pointed out above, the record contained a **date** in the beginning ; but its details are mostly lost in the damaged portion. From the preserved letters we gather that it was dated the first day evidently of the sixth fortnight. While the name of the season cannot be restored at all, an attempt has been made with the help of the surviving portions of the words in that connection to read the year conjecturally as *panatrisa*, i.e., thirty-five. This in all probability referred to the regnal year of the king whose name is again missing. In the *Dharmachakra* pillar ins-

¹ Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1706.

² See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, under Rithpur.

³ *Arch. Surv. Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101. See also p. 24 where the name of the school is given as *Chaityika* and *Chaityasaila*.

⁵ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, p. 97 and *Pl. An. Rep. A.S.I.*, for 1923-24, p. 93.

⁶ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12. In the *Dipavamsa* (V, 54) they are referred to as *Pubbāparaseliḷā*.

⁷ *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, p. 221.

⁸ Above, Vol. XX, p. 9.

⁹ Compare *The Life of the Buddha* by Rockhill, p. 184. See also G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. *Aparaseliyā* and *Pubbaseliyā*, where it is stated that 'according to the *Kathāvatthu* commentary they belonged to the Andhaka school'.

¹⁰ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 218.

DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.



cription of Amarāvati referred to above, while the date portion is completely lost except the only word *savachhara*, the name of the ruler is fully preserved, and it is the king Vāsīṭhiputa (Vāsish-thīputra) Pulumāvi. Judging from the proximity of the two localities Amarāvati and Dharanikōṭa, the resemblance between the scripts of the two records and the high regnal year, it seems very likely that the present record also referred itself to the reign of the very same Āndhra king Pulumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The latest known regnal year of this monarch is twenty-four.¹ If the reading *panatrise* proposed in the present record be correct, then we have to conclude that Pulumāvi's reign extended over at least thirty-four years.² The inscription contains the numerals 1 and 6 in l. 3 and l. 2 respectively.

TEXT.³

- 1 chhara⁴
- 2 **pana**⁵ 6 **divasa**
- 3 **prathame 1** ⁶ka-koṭubikasa
- 4 Khadanāgasa a⁷ . . . r[i]kena Agalokukena Virakha . . sa⁸
- 5 putena amachena⁹
- 6 Ataporena¹⁰ **Dhañakaḍasa** Mahāvihāre puva-dāre pava-
- 7 jītāna bhikṣu-saḅhasa **Puvase**[i]yāna nigāyasa
- 8 parigahe dhamachaka-dhayo paḍiṭhapito sava-loka-
- 9 satva-hita-sukhāya¹¹

¹ See Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. XXXVII.

² *Ibid.*, p. LXVI, where Purāṇic lists of Andhra kings are given. It will be seen there that No. 15 Pulomāvi, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ruled for 36 years and No. 24 Pulomā for 28 years.

³ From ink impressions.

⁴ Restore the word as *savachhara* (*samvatsara*). The preceding portion, comprising about eighteen syllables, is lost. It might have contained the name of the king to whose reign the inscription was referred.

⁵ After *pana*, the lower part of the third syllable is visible, which is most probably a subscript *r*, judging from the formation of *pra* in the beginning of the next line. We may restore this word as *panatrise* (*pañchatrīmśe*). The following letters, which are now missing, obviously contained the name of the season and then probably such words as *pakhe chhaṭhe*, as is suggested by the numeral 6 before the word *divasa* in the end of this line.

⁶ The syllable preceding *ka*, only a lower portion of which is now preserved, may have been *ri*. The word however, cannot be restored.

⁷ The right-hand portion of this letter is effaced. It has been read as initial *a*, but the curl at its lower end forms almost a circle, and as such it differs from that found in *a* of *Agaloka*⁸ l. 4 and *Ataporena* l. 6.

⁸ The reading of this name is doubtful. The letter *ra* shows on its top something like a hook opening to the left. If that is meant to be the sign for medial *i*, we have to read the syllable as *ri* and not as *ra*. Moreover, the impression shows some faint traces of a letter between *kha* and *sa*. The last syllable appears a little below the line, making it difficult to ascertain whether the intervening letter is conjoined with *sa* or whether it stands independently. The latter is most probably the case, as the word is required to be in the genitive. Thus *Virakkadasa* may have been the intended reading.

⁹ This partial line of writing was inserted later, as is clear from its position. Obviously, the two words contained herein were first left out by the engraver through oversight, who discovered the omission after having incised the whole record and then could do nothing but supply the omitted matter in the manner he has done. The letter *che* in *amachena* was imperfectly formed due to the insertion between the narrow space below the downward curl of *a* in l. 4. Hence it is read as *amachena* and not *amakhena*. If we adopt *amakhena* it would be a proper name.

¹⁰ The reading is probably *Ataporena*, *Atapora* being a personal name.

¹¹ There is an ornamental design carved here, which marks the conclusion of the record.

TRANSLATION.

On the **first day 1**, (of the sixth fortnight) **6** (of the . . . season) in the year (thirty-five) (35 of the king . . . , this) shaft (surmounted) with a *Dharmachakra* has been established at the eastern gate in the Great Monastery of **Dhañakaḍa**, (which is) in possession of the school of the **Pūrvaśailīyas**, the monkish order of ascetics, by . . . ,¹ the minister, a resident of Atapura,² an immigrant from Agaloka son of Viraskanda (?), . . . of the householder Skandanāga, for the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world.³

No. 37.—TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In October 1938 Mr. D. R. Gomkale, M.A., LL. B., Pleader of Nagpur, made over to me for deposit four copper-plates, which he had obtained through the good offices of Mr. S. S. Dapurkar of Kāvli. They were in the possession of Mr. N. H. Jane of Bēlorā, a village in the Ārvi *tahsil* of the Wardhā District, which is situated on the left bank of the Wardhā about 6 miles south by east of Mōrsi. On examination I found that they fell into two sets of two plates each, called hereafter **Set A** and **Set B**. Each set originally consisted of three plates, but the last plate of Set A and the first one of Set B are not forthcoming now. The first plate of Set A is inscribed on one side only and all the other plates on both the sides. The plates of Set A are slightly larger in size and heavier in weight than those of Set B. The former measure 9·9" by 4·9" each and weigh 67½ *tolas*; while the latter measure 9·6" by 4·8" each and weigh 64 *tolas*. About 2" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole ½" in diameter for the ring which originally held together the plates of each set, but neither the rings nor the seals, which must have been connected with them, are now forthcoming. All the plates are in a state of excellent preservation. The letters are deeply cut and some of them show through on the other side, especially in the case of the first plate. When carefully examined, the grants appear to be **palimpsests**, all the plates showing here and there clear traces of earlier letters, which were beaten in before the present charters were incised on them. These earlier letters were box-headed and of the same type as those which were later engraved in their place. So the earlier charters undoubtedly belonged to the same period. As their letters have been almost everywhere carefully beaten in, it is not now possible to say who issued them, what they recorded and why they were cancelled.

As stated above, both the inscriptions are incomplete. The preserved writing of the first one, which has lost its concluding part, contains 18 lines and that of the second, of which the initial portion is missing, 24 lines. The **characters** of both are of the box-headed variety and resemble in a general way those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. They include the numerical symbols for 10, 3⁴ and 1 in ll. 29 and 30 of Set B. The only peculiarity worth noticing here, which is not usually met with in other Vākātaka grants, is the use of the looped *t*. In both the sets *t* appears in the looped and unlooped forms; for instances of the former, see *yato*= in l. 14 of Set A and *viditam*= in l. 17 of Set B, and for those of the latter, notice *Shōḍashy*=

¹ We expect here the proper name of the person, but it has apparently been left out by the writer of the epigraph, probably through oversight.

² For a discussion about this locality see the introduction.

³ I am indebted to Dr. B. C. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, for various suggestions in connection with this article.

⁴ The symbol for 3 deserves to be specially noted, as it is not of the usual type. See below p. 267, n. 16.

Atirātra in l. 1 of Set A and *atīt-* in l. 25 of Set B. The subscript *t* is usually looped and to distinguish it from *n* its loop is elongated, see e.g. -*Āptōryyām-* in l. 1 of Set A, but instances of the unlooped subscript *t* also occur sporadically, see e.g. *kārtta-yuga* in l. 12 and *bhukti* in l. 13 of Set A. The use of the looped form of *t* has led to the confusion of *t* and *n* in some cases; see e.g. *Pravara-sētasya* for *Pravarasēnasya* in ll. 12-13 of Set B, where *n* is shaped exactly like an unlooped *t*. In other respects the characters show the same peculiarities as those of the Tirōḍī¹ and Paṭṭan² plates of Pravarasēna II.

The language is Sanskrit. The existing portion of Set A is wholly in prose; that of Set B is also in prose except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 27-29. The orthography of both the sets shows the same peculiarities, viz., (1) the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* and vice versa, see *pauṭṛiṇaḥ* and *Prithivisēnasya* in l. 9 of both the sets. In *viṣṭṛita* l. 16 of Set B, the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ru*. (2) Similarly *ḷi* is used for the vowel *ḷi* in *sa-klipt-ōpaklipt[t*]a* in l. 22 of Set B. (3) The palatal *ś* is used for the dental *s* in *Sūryya-* in l. 14 of Set A. (4) The consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are doubled, see e.g. -*abhivarddhamāna-* in l. 8 and *sarvāddhyaksha* in l. 15 of both the sets and *vikrama* in l. 7 of Set A. Besides these, both the sets show such mistakes as the use of the short for the long vowel, ungrammatical forms of words, etc.

Both the sets of plates were granted by Pravarasēna II of the Vākātaka dynasty. His genealogy is traced here from Pravarasēna I exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called Dēvagupta. The plates of Set A were issued from Nandivardhana. The place of issue in the case of those of Set B is unknown owing to the loss of its first plate. The former record the grant of the village Mahalla-Lāṭa in the Asi-bhukti, which was situated on the road to Śailapura, while the latter register the donation of two villages viz., Dirghadraha in the Pakkaya-~~śālaka~~ and Mahallama-Lāṭa. Of these latter villages, the second is plainly identical with the village Mahalla-Lāṭa of Set A as it is specified exactly like it. The grant recorded in Set B is, therefore, later than that of Set A. The donee of both the grants was the same, namely, Sūryasvāmin of the Kūsyapa-gotra and Taittirīya-śākhā, who was a resident of the place Pravarasēnashādvimśati-vāṭaka. Both the grants were again made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijayikē dharmasthānē*) for the increase of religious merit, life, strength, victory and fortune of the donor. The date of the first record is missing, but that of the second is given at the end. The latter was written, while Chitravarman was Sēnāpati, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the eleventh regnal year. This is the earliest known date of Pravarasēna II.

Like the Riddhapur grant of Prabhāvatiguptā this second grant was evidently made on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhinī-ekādaśī. Pravarasēna II was himself a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*Paramamāhēśvara*), but that he chose to make a grant on the afore-mentioned tithi, which is sacred to Viṣṇu, shows that he was not a bigoted Śaiva. This is also indicated by his authorship of the Prākṛit poem *Sētubandha*³ which glorifies Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Poona plates⁴ were issued by Prabhāvatiguptā as regent for her minor son, the yuvarāja Divākarasēna, in the thirteenth year, evidently from the latter's accession. In her Riddhapur

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

plates¹ the dowager queen describes herself as the mother of Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna². It has been suggested that Divākarasēna, when he came of age, assumed the title of Pravarasēna.³ In that case the regnal years of Pravarasēna II would have to be reckoned from his accession as boy-prince. The second grant edited here, which is dated in the eleventh regnal year and was made by **Pravarasēna** himself, clearly shows that he is **different from Divākarasēna** who had not begun to rule independently even in the thirteenth year since his accession. Pravarasēna evidently succeeded Divākarasēna, but how long the latter continued to reign after the issue of the Poona plates cannot be determined unless fresh records bearing on the point come to light.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown, but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire, etc., are generally specified.⁴ No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This, therefore, raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A, so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākātakas. The mention of Chitravarman as *Sēnāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set; for from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till the 18th year at least of Pravarsēna II's reign.⁵ The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious. The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmaṇa donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.⁶

¹ *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff.

² According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Pravarasēna was another name of Dāmōdarasēna. See his *History of India 150-350 A.D.*, p. 63.

³ *J. R. A. S.* (1914), pp. 327 ff. In fairness to Vincent Smith who makes this suggestion, it must be said that he thought it more likely that Divākarasēna died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother.

⁴ See e. g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 76.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 240.

⁶ [As the difference in size between the two sets of plates is very little it does not seem impossible to me that three out of the four plates, viz., plates I and II of Set A and plate III of Set B, were meant to form a complete grant of Pravarasēna II. It may be that the grant of two villages in plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and this plate was meant to be replaced by plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. This view gains some support from the ornamental work found after *atirishṭak* in plate II. Set A, which was apparently engraved with a view to stopping any unauthorised addition in the blank space which could not be utilised by the engraver. But even if this surmise is correct, it is not understood why plate II of Set B was not removed before handing over the charter to the donee unless it is to be assumed that the document for some reason or other did not leave the Secretariat. And as it was not formally issued it was not considered necessary to remove the unwanted plate, or to attach a ring and the royal seal to the document.—Ed.]

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grants, **Nandivardhana** from which the plates of the first set were issued, is probably identical with Nagardhan (also called Nandardhan) near Rāmṭēk as has already been suggested by Hiralal.¹ The place is described as a holy *tīrtha* in the *Sindūragiri-nāṭhāstikā*,² and retained its ancient name down to the time of the Bhonslas³; for it is mentioned in the Sanskrit play *Purañjanacharita* of Krishṇadatta, which was staged at Nāgpur in the 18th Century.⁴ As already stated, both the grants edited here were made at the king's place of religious worship (*dharmasthāna*), and consequently at the royal capital; for this expression is not found in the Tirōḍi plates which, as shown elsewhere⁵, register a grant made at a holy *tīrtha* outside the capital. It may be noted in this connection that the earlier Poona plates of Prabhavātipati also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, the earlier capital of the Vākātakas.⁶ Later on Pravarasēna II removed the seat of his government to Pravara-pura which he seems to have founded and named after himself. Several subsequent charters of Pravarasēna II granted at the capital were issued from Pravara-pura. The earliest of them is the Chammak grant dated in the 18th regnal year. Unfortunately the date of set A is missing. Otherwise it would have enabled us to fix the limits between which the Vākātaka capital was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravara-pura. **Mahalla-Lāṭa** or **Mahallama-Lāṭa** which seems to mean the larger Lāṭa may be represented by Lāḍki or Ghāṭ Lāḍki in the Mōrsi *tāluka* of the Amraoti District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā.⁷ Mahalla-Lāṭa lay on the road to **Sailapura** which may be identical with Sālbarḍi situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lāḍki.⁸ **Asi**, the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāṭa was situated, may be identical with Asṭi which lies only 10 miles south-east of Bēlōrā. **Dirghadraha** is probably Dighi on the left bank of the Wardhā about 30 miles south of Asṭi. (The name of Pravārēśvara-*...* which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages. Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called Pravārēśvara installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself.⁹ This place as well as Pākkaṇa, the headquarters of the *rāshṭra* (division) in which Dirghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now.)

¹ See above, Vol. IX, p. 43.

² Sindūragiri is another name of the hill near Rāmṭēk. It was probably the Rāmāgiri of Kālidāsa's *Mēgha-dūta*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 84.

³ Nandivardhana is also mentioned in the Dēoli plates of Krishṇa III. See above, Vol. V, p. 196.

⁴ Sardesai Commemoration Volume (Marāṭhi), p. 148.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

⁶ This suggestion was first made by me while editing the unfinished Vākātaka plate from Drug; see above, Vol. XXII, p. 209. It is corroborated by the present plates. The Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman who belonged to the Nala dynasty were also issued from Nandivardhana, which indicates his temporary occupation of some Vākātaka territory. See *loc. cit.* p. 210.

⁷ There is another and smaller village called Lāḍegaon on the left bank of Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā.

⁸ Sālbarḍi is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs.

⁹ Compare the name Vaṅkō-Tummāṇa of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vaṅkēśvara which it contained.

TEXT.¹

Set A.

First Plate.

- 1 द्रष्टम्² [।*] सिद्धम् स्वस्ति [।*] ना(न)न्दिर्वर्धनादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोवध्यपोडश्यति-
रात्रवाजपेयवृहस्पतिसव-
- 2 साद्यस्क(स्क)चतुश्च(श्च)मेधयाजिनः³ विष्णुवृद्ध⁴सगोत्रस्य सम्नाट्⁵वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्चि-
(श्री)प्रवर-
- 3 सेनस्य सूनी[।*] सूनीः अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिव-
लिङ्गो-
- 4 इह्नशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम्पराक्रममाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजल-
- 5 मूर्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभ्युक्तातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्चि(श्री)भवनागदौहित्रस्य
- 6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।⁵ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनीरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यश्रीमत्व⁶धीम[त्त्व*]पात्रगतभक्तित्व-
- 8 धर्मेविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्मन्यादिगुणै[।*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-
- 9 गृहसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौतृ(त्रि)णः युधिदि(ष्टि)रुद्वत्ते[।] वाक(का)टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथि-
वीसे-
- 10 नस्य⁷ सु(सू)नोर्मगवतश्चक्रपाणे)प्रसादोपा[र्जि]⁸तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।⁹ महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
- 11 स्य सु(सू)नोर्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्भवातिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो)प्र-
- 12 सादृष्टिकार्त्तयुगस्य¹⁰ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

¹ From the original plates.² Read दृष्टम्.³ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.⁴ Read ससाजी.⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁶ Read श्रीमत्त्व. This word does not occur in other Vākāṭaka grants.⁷ Read श्रीपृथिवीविषय.⁸ The subscript j is incompletely incised and looks like d.⁹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.¹⁰ Read धृतकार्त्तयुगस्य.

TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II—(set A).

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6

ii, a.

8 8
10 10
12 12

ii, b.

14 14
16 16
18 18

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 वचनात् [I] शैलपुरमार्गे¹ असिभुक्तिमहल्लाटग्रामः(मः)² प्रवरेश्वरषट्तिशकवाट-
 14 कवस्तव्याय³ ॥⁴ तै[त्ति]रियाय⁵ ।⁴ काश्यपसगोत्रसूर्यस्वामिने⁶ दत्तः [I*] यतोऽस्मत्त-
 (न्त)काः सव्वी[ञ्ज]-
 15 क्षनिया(यो)गनियुक्ताः आज्ञासचारि⁷कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्चात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्वयाज्ञय-
 (या)-
 16 ज्ञापयितव्याः [I*] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुज्वल⁸ विजयैश्वर्य-
 17 व(वि)द्वये ।⁹ इहामुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ॥⁹ वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्या-
 (त्या)
 18 उदकपूर्वमतिदृष्टः [II*]¹⁰

SET B.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7¹¹ सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म(स्य)धीमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म-
 8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(र्म)ल्यादिगुणै[ः*] समुदेतस्य वर्षशतर्माभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डला-
 9 धनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसेनस्य¹²
 10 सूनोभ(र्भ)गवतः¹³श्चक्रपाणे(५)प्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य म्महाराज¹⁴श्रीरुद्र-
 11 सेनस्य सूनोर्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया(५)¹⁵प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य
 12 शम्भो(५)प्रसाव(द)धृतिकार्त्तसुतस्य¹⁶ ।¹⁷ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

¹ Read शैलपुर as in l. 13 of Set B, below.² In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लमलाटग्रामः.³ Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरषट्तिशकवाटकवास्तव्याय is the correct reading.⁴ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.⁵ The subscribed t of *tti* is not completely incised. Read तैत्तिरोयाय.⁶ Read सूर्यस्वामिने.⁷ Read आज्ञासचारि-⁸ Read ज्वल-⁹ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.¹⁰ An ornamental figure is incised here.¹¹ As the first plate, like the others of this Set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7.¹² Read श्रीप्रिथिवीविणस्य.¹³ This *visarga* is superfluous.¹⁴ Read महाराज.¹⁵ Read सुतायाम्प्रभावति-¹⁶ Read धृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य-¹⁷ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 त(न)स्य वचना[त्*] । पाकणराष्ट्रे दीर्घद्रहं नाम¹ ग्राम[:*] । शैलपुरमार्गे असि-
भुक्ति-
- 14 महल्लमलाटग्रामस्य एवं ग्रामद्वयं [॥]⁷ प्रवरश्चरषड्विंशतिवाटकवस्तव्य²- [॥]⁷
- 15 तैत्तिरिय³काश्यपसगोत्र[सु⁴]थ्यस्वामिन दत्त[म्*] । यतोऽस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्व्वद्यक्ष⁵नियोग-
- 16 नियुक्ताः आन्नासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भटाश्चात्माश्च विष्(श्रु)तपूर्व्वयान्नाज्ञा-⁶
- 17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु वः [।*] यथै(धि)हास्माभिरात्मनो धर्माद्युर्व्वलविज्य(यै)श्वर्य्य-
विवृद्धये ।⁷ इहा-
- 18 मुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रह(हा)य वैजैके⁸ धर्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्ता⁹ उदकपूर्व्वमति[सृष्टः]¹⁰ [।*]

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 उचिताश्चास्य¹¹ पूर्व्वराजानुमतां चातुर्व्विंशग्राममर्थ्यादान्वितराम¹²स्तद्यथा अकरदायि
- 20 अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य[म्*] अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्ध¹³ अपूष्पक्षिर¹⁴सन्दोह[म्*] अचारासनच-
- 21 म्नाङ्गार[म्*] अलवणक्षिन्नक्लेनिखनक¹⁵ सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत¹⁶ सनिधि¹⁷ सोप-

¹ Read दीर्घद्रहं नाम.² Read प्रवरश्चरषड्विंशतिवाटकवस्तव्य-³ Read तैत्तिरीय-⁴ The engraver at first incised वृ and then altered it into सु. Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने.⁵ Read सर्व्वद्यक्ष-⁶ Read पूर्व्वयान्नाज्ञा-⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.⁸ Read वैजयिके.⁹ Read अपूर्व्वदत्ता.¹⁰ This should be °मतिष्ठष्टम् so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयं in l. 14 above.¹¹ Read उचितां चास्य.¹² Read मर्थ्यादां वितराम-¹³ Read अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्धम्. In this and some expressions below the writer has blindly copied the masculine form from the usual draft, referring to the donation of one village (ग्रामः). Here the neuter form is required so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्.¹⁴ Read अपूष्पक्षीर-¹⁵ Read क्षेणखनकम्.¹⁶ Read सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतम्.¹⁷ Read सनिधि.

TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II—(SET B).

ii, a.

8 8
10 10
12 12

ii, b.

14 14
16 16
18 18

iii, a.

20 20
22 22
24 24

iii, b.

26 26
28 28
30 30

- 22 निधिः¹ सक्तिमोपक्षिप² अचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः³ पुनर्दौर्वाह्यमिति⁴ भुञ्जता(तो)
 23 न केनचिद्वाघात[<क]⁵र्त्तव्यः सर्वक्रियाभि⁶स्स(स्मं)रक्षितव्य<पर(रि)वर्द्धयितव्यश्च । यश्च-
 (श्चा)सच्छा-
 24 सनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवाद्यकुर्व्यत्कारविर वा⁷ अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 सदण्डनिग्रह(हं) कुर्याम ॥ अस्मि(स्मिं)श्च धर्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तासंचिन्य-
 न⁸परिपा-
 26 लन(नं) कृतपुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थ(य) न कीर्त्तयामः [i*] व्यासगीतौ
 चाच श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-
 27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताव्वा⁹ हरेद्वा¹⁰ वै वसुन्धरा[म् i*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य ।¹¹
 हन्तुर्ह-
 28 रति दुष्कृत[म्*]¹² ।[१॥*] षष्ठि¹³ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिद[*] । आच्छेत्ता
 चा-
 29 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२॥*] सवत्सरे एकादशमे¹⁴ १० १ कार्त्तिक-
 शुक्लपक्ष-
 30 त्रयोदश्या¹⁵ १० ३¹⁶ सेन(ना)पतौ चित्रवर्मा(र्म)णि ना¹⁷ लिखित[म्*]¹⁸

¹ Read सीपनिधि.

² Read सक्तुमोपक्षिप.

³ Read आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयम्.

⁴ Read गानिकम्.

⁵ The subscript *ka* is not completely incised, so that the whole *akshara* appears like *mā*.

⁶ Read सर्वक्रियाभि.

⁷ Read परिवाद्यां कुर्यात्कारवेद्वा.

⁸ Read राजदत्तसंचिन्तन.

⁹ Read °म्परदत्ता वा.

¹⁰ Read °हरेद्यौ.

¹¹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

¹² Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushtubh*.

¹³ Read षष्ठि.

¹⁴ Read सवत्सरे एकादशे.

¹⁵ Read त्रयोदश्यां.

¹⁶ The symbol for 3 is unusual, but there is no doubt about its value, as the *tithi* is mentioned in words.

¹⁷ Perhaps मणिना was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the *aksharas* मणि by haplo-

graphy.

¹⁸ There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *danḍas* and a horizontal stroke.

No. 38.—MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first noticed by the late Robert Sewell when it was found lying in the record room of the District Court of Kistna at Masulipatam.¹ It is not known where the plates were originally discovered and how and when they reached the District Court of Kistna. Dr. J. F. Fleet, who examined these plates at the instance of Robert Sewell, described them as follows:

“A set of five copper-plates, each about $11\frac{1}{2}$ ” long by $5\frac{3}{8}$ ” broad with a seal which bears the usual Chālukyan Boar, the motto *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṃkuśa*, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad and a floral device The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read.”²

These plates came to be included in the collection of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1908, and marked as C. P. No. 8 of 1908-09.³ The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri described the plates thus: They consist “of five copper-plates (with raised rims) of which the two exposed sides are blank. They are strung on a massive ring whose ends are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal which bears in high relief on a countersunk surface the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āṃku]śa*, the standing boar, the elephant-goad, two fly-whisks, the sun and the moon and the lotus flower. The writing on the plates is much worn out and where it is clear the rust has so firmly settled down in the depths of the letters that even the process of allowing the plate to boil in a thick solution of tamarind and salt has not effectively removed it”. I now edit this inscription from the ink impressions and photographs supplied to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. The inscription on these plates is written in the **Telugu** characters of the tenth century. The letters are beautifully engraved; and the plates used for the purpose of the grant are perhaps the largest ever used for the charters of Ammarāja II. The writing on the plates is for a greater part not well preserved: particularly on plates *ii-b*, *iii-b*, *iv-a* and *iv-b*. Some of the characters employed call for a few remarks. Special signs are used for the final *n* (in *māsān*, ll. 9, 15 and 17), but no special sign is employed for the final *t*, which is, however, denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *virāma* above it. Initial vowels *a* and *ā* (ll. 56 and 57), *i* (ll. 32-34 and 42), *ī* (l. 60) and *ē* (l. 17) also appear in the record and they represent the forms of the transitional period. **Orthographical** mistakes are few and in one or two cases they appear to be due to the scribe. Thus we find in *śiśyō* (l. 52) the palatal sibilant used for lingual, and in *śadriśau* (l. 47) the palatal sibilant used for the dental. Signs for both the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāñiya* are found in the present record, the former in l. 11 and the latter in l. 38.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit**, partly in prose and partly in verse; and there are altogether twenty-one stanzas including the usual *śloka* verses in lines 65-68 at the end. The inscription also contains some archaic Telugu words, e.g., *dūba* (l. 57), *paḍuva* (ll. 58 and 60), *prānta-parti* (l. 58) and *yisupakatta* (l. 57), the exact meanings of which are not quite clear. These words occur in the description of the boundaries of the village granted.

The inscription consists apparently of two parts; and though it records a charity to the Jaina religion, it opens with an invocation to the god Viṣṇu, the wielder of the fierce *śārṅga* bow which

¹ *List of Inscriptions and Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, Vol. II, p. 13; No. 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, 1909, pp. 10 and 108.

protects the three worlds, unlike the Maliyapūṇḍi grant which opens with an invocation to the Jaina religion, being a charity made for the Jaina faith.¹ Lines 2-22 contain the usual *praśasti* and genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, beginning with **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana**, the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra down to **Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II**, the donor of the grant. The genealogical portion does not give us any more historical particulars about the kings that preceded Amma II, than we know from the other records of the family. As usual Jayasimhavalabha I is given a period of 33 years, which Dr. Fleet, however, considered to be incompatible with his adjustment of the reigns of the other kings of the dynasty.² I do not think that Dr. Fleet was justified in reducing the period of Jayasimhavalabha I from 33 to 30 years; and his reasons for so doing are not convincing. There is only a single record which gives the king a reign of 30 years while the entire range of the family charters, which number about fifty, are unanimous in giving him a period of 33 years. Dr. Fleet's calculations and computations are made, as I have shown elsewhere³, upon certain misconceptions. The only record that gives 30 years' reign to the king is the Paḍaṁkalūru grant of Ammarāja II⁴ which was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa. The scribe who engraved the charter on the plates must have committed an obvious error in omitting the word *trayas* before *trimsatam*, for the edict on the Gundlupet plates of the same king, which was also the composition of the self-same poet Mādhavabhaṭṭa, gives Jayasimhavalabha a reign of 33 years, which is in conformity with the statements of other records.⁵ Similarly, Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II is stated to have reigned for 40 years in the present inscription; and this length seems to be the correct period as shown by me in my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings*⁶, as against the period of 44 years which was allotted to him in Dr. Fleet's computation.⁶ It is, however, needless to repeat here my reasons for accepting the period of 40 years, which I have stated at length in my *Revised Chronology*; but I consider it necessary to give a summary of the chronology of the kings as fixed by me—from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana to Chālukya Bhīma I, for whose coronation we have a recorded date—alongside with Dr. Fleet's scheme of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology for easy reference.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
1. Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana	18 : 624—641	18 : 615—633
2. Jayasimhavalabha I	33 : 641—673	30 : 633—663
3. Indrabhaṭṭāraka	7 days : 673	7 days : 663
4. Vishṇuvardhana II	9 : 673—682	9 : 663—672
5. Maṅgi-Yuvarāja	25 : 682—706	25 : 672—696
6. Jayasimha II	13 : 706—718	13 : 696—709
7. Kokkili	6 months : 718 —719	6 months : 709

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 50 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 10 and 12.

³ "The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings" in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Part 4, pp. 17 and 27 and chart on p. 30A.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, text, line 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 12-13.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
8. Vishnuvardhana III	37 : 719—755	37 : 709—746
9. Vijayāditya I or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka	18 : 755—772	18 : 746—764
10. Vishnuvardhana IV	36 : 772—808	36 : 764—799
11. Vijayāditya II (Narēndramrigarāja)	40 : 808—847	44 : 799—843
12. Kali-Vishnuvardhana	1½ : 847—849	1½ : 843—844
13. Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III	44 : 849—892	44 : 844—888
14. Chālukya-Bhīma I	30 : 892—921	30 : 888—918

Apart from what has been stated already, the above table shows also that Chālukya-Bhīma I's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 888 as stated by Dr. Fleet, for we have a record of the king that gives the date of his coronation as Ś. 814 (expired), (Mēsha) *Chaitra ba. dvitīyā, Śaśi-dīna*, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Maitra (Anurādhā), which has been equated to Monday, 17th April, 892 A.D.¹ Thus the whole scheme of Dr. Fleet's arrangement falls to the ground.²

Vijayāditya (IV) is given the title *Kaliyattigaṇḍa*, "the hero who raised the sins of the Kali Age". Dr. Fleet who examined these plates read the term as *Kaliyarttigāṇḍa*. The epithets *Kaliyattigaṇḍa* and *Kaliyarttgaṇḍa*, which occurs in the Īḍeru plates of Amma I,³ have the same meaning, for *aika* and *aikakūra* are the Telugu-Kannada synonyms of the Sanskrit word *gaṇḍa*, which means 'a hero', 'a champion' or 'a warrior'. The clue for the correct interpretation of these terms is found in the phrase *aikakūras=sākshāt*, which occurs in a passage describing Guṇaka or Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III in the Kaluchumbaggu grant of Amma II.⁴

Of the several enemies whom Chālukya **Bhīma** (II) is said to have conquered or killed before he became king according to the other records of the family, only four, namely, **Mallapa**, his son, **Rājamārtanḍa** and the **Rāshtrakūṭas** are mentioned in the present charter. The inscription states that king **Bhīma**, the son of **Mēlāmbā** and **Kaliyattigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya**, who was endowed with truthfulness, liberality, pride and majesty and all other virtues, conquered in battle **Rājamārtanḍa**, defeated the fierce Mallapa and his son, and then, having dispelled the darkness (*that overwhelmed the realm*), i.e., the **Rāshtrakūṭas**, reigned in glory for twelve years. Till now **Rājamārtanḍa** has not been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that **Rājamārtanḍa** might be the same as **Rājamayya**⁵, and the identification may be for the present

¹ C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1918, App. E, p. 126; also see *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. VI, p. 246.

² [But it is not impossible that, though he was actually crowned in A.D. 892, his regnal year was counted from the date of his accession which might have taken place some years earlier. This custom was widely prevalent in South India.—N.L.R.]

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 36, pp. 36-43, text, line 49.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 180.

accepted as correct. Rājamārtanḍa would appear to be one of the foremost opponents of Chālukya-Bhīma II, for he is mentioned in the latter's own Kōlavenṇu plates¹. Rājamārtanḍa might be a younger brother of Yuddhamalla II or more probably a son of Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Kollabhigaṇḍa or Kaliyattayaṅka-Vijayāditya IV, who reigned for eleven months after destroying Tāḷa. If so Rājamārtanḍa would be a *dāyāda* of Chālukya-Bhīma II, being his cousin in the same degree. Mallapa and his powerful son may be identified with Yuddhamalla II and his eldest son *Adhirāja* Bādapa of the Ārumbāka plates.

Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II is said to have conquered several of his own kinsmen (*dāyādas*) before he became the lord of the country or soon after he had ascended the throne. Verse 6 describes the important event thus : " Having been crowned (as the lord of) the kingdom of Vēṅgī, having conquered his enemy, the rising and powerful Vijayāditya, who had vanquished on numerous battle fields his own adversaries and whose neck was adorned with the fillet (*kaṇṭhikā-dāma*) (of the dignity of *yuvārāja*),² having defeated the group of his treacherous kinsmen, by the prowess of his arm (or his rays) and having pleased the goddess Lakshmi (or the lotus) by dispelling the darkness *viz.* his opponents, the sun of the Kshatriya race shines in all splendour ". That Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta or Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, the son of Ammarāja I, was one of the opponents of king Amma II is not known from any of the records hitherto published. It now appears that Bēta or Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya returned to the country, appeared once more as a claimant to the throne on the death of his father's step-brother, Chālukya-Bhīma II, and opposed the accession of the boy king Amma II. Among the other rival claimants whom Amma II had conquered might be the children of Yuddhamalla II, who was driven away into exile by Chālukya-Bhīma II. The rest of the passage which describes Ammarāja II (ll. 30-35) is merely in panegyrical style and does not contain anything historical. The present record is **not dated**; it does not also mention the occasion on which it was issued.

The second part of the inscription (ll. 39-51) opens with a description of a family of feudatory chieftains, who professed the Jaina religion and who flourished during the reigns of Chālukya-Bhīma II and his son Ammarāja II. There was born in the great family known as *Triṇayana-kula*, a nobleman called **Naravāhana** (I), an officer of the Chālukya kings. He belonged to the *gōtra* called *Grēva*; he enjoyed the privilege and honour of sitting on *śimhāsana* or a ' lion seat ' like a crowned prince. Prince Naravāhana, like the preceptor of the gods, was a master of the science of Polity. He outshone the glory of Naravāhana, the Regent of the Northern quarter (*Kubēra*). His eldest son was **Mēlaparāja**, who was an embodiment of virtues like liberality, pride and praiseworthy conduct. He, therefore, bore the epithet *Mānavadēva*, ' god amongst men '. He was a worshipper of the lotus feet of the Blessed Lord Jina. His wife was **Mēṇḍāmbā**, who was a *pativrātā* (devoted wife) like the epic princess Sitā. She was a fervent follower of the teachings of Lord Jina (*Jainavratā*). To them, Mēlaparāja and Mēṇḍāmbā, were born two sons, **Bhīma** or **Rāja-Bhīma** and **Naravāhana** (II). The former would appear to have been named after Chālukya-Bhīma II³ and the latter after his own grand-father. Both these princes were intelligent and renowned. They were masters of all *śāstras* and skilled in the use of various weapons. They resembled Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (in personal charm), Bhīma

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43ff., text, line 18; see also above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

² Compare this passage with *Vijayādityaṃ kṛta-kaṇṭhikā-paṭṭabandh-ābhishēkam* which occurs both in the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma II (above, Vol. V, p. 136) text-lines 15-16 and note 2 on p. 138 and in the Pāganavaram grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213f, text-line 25).

³ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 177ff., text, line 41.

and Arjuna (in might and prowess), Baladēva and Vāsudēva (in strength and wisdom), and equalled Nakula and Sahadēva (in valour and bravery) respectively. They were devoted to the *Jaina-dharma*. They obtained through the favour of Chālukya-Bhīma, i.e., Chālukya-Bhīma II., the insignia of feudal chieftainship (*sāmanta*), namely, the *śrīvāra*, *chhatra* (parasol), *chāmara* (fly whisk), peacock's tail, water-jars, horses, and musical instruments like *kāhala* and others.¹

The inscription then refers (ll. 51-54) to a Jaina pontiff (*āchārya*), the preceptor of the two noblemen Bhīma and Naravāhana II. He was the renowned **Jayasēna**, who bore the surname **Nāthasēna** and was the disciple of the illustrious **Chandrasēna**. Jayasēna was a master of all the *śāstras*. He was well versed in the *Siddhānta*, i.e., *Jaina-siddhānta*, 'the doctrines of the Jainas'. He was a man of excellent and praiseworthy conduct. He attained proficiency in *para-samaya*, that is to say, his soul became absorbed in the non-self for the liberation of mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrāvakas*, *kshapaṇakas*, *kshullakas* and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the celebrated Jaina pontiff, who was their religious preceptor, Bhīma and Naravāhana II, constructed two Jaina temples (*Jina-bhavana*) at *Vijayapura*; and for that purpose king Ammarāja granted the village of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** having converted it into a *dēvabhōga* and exempted it from all kinds of burdens and taxation.

Some of the names and terms that occur in the inscription are interesting. The family of the two chiefs is called the 'great *Trinayana-kula*', and their *gōtra*-name appears as *Grēvya*. Both these terms have not been met with before either in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty or in the literature of the Andhra country. The *Trinayana-kula* seems to belong to the fourth or Śūdra caste, like the *Panta-kula* of the *Reddis* of *Andhra*, whose birth-place is said to be the *Gaṅgā* which sprang from the feet of Lord Vishnu. The *Grēvya-gōtra*, too, is not a Brahmanical *gōtra*, and this fact supports the above conjecture.² Several orders of the Jaina ascetics and lay worshippers are mentioned in the record. The *Śrāvakas*, for instance are Jaina laymen; the *Kshapaṇakas* are Jaina *yatis* (ascetics) who received proper initiation according to the school of the Digambaras. A Jaina *kshullaka* is one who is a *Śrāvaka* of a high order belonging to the tenth degree, the eleventh degree being that of *Ailaka*. These seem to correspond to the *dāsas* of the *Bhāgavata-saṁpradāya*. The next higher order of spiritual stage is that of *muni* or *āchārya*. The term *ajjakā* may be a Prākṛit form of Sanskrit *Āryakā*, "a female ascetic", who, according to Jaina doctrines, wears only a white sari.³ The expression *para-samaya* which occurs in the passage *para-samaya-paṭiḥ samast-āḥ śhā-rīṭiḥ* (l. 53) is apparently used in a highly technical sense here as it rightly belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda Acharya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the terms *para-samaya* and *sva-samaya* as follows :

जीवश्चारिदृशज्ञानस्थितसं हि स्वसमयं जानीहि ।

पुनलकर्मोपदेशस्थितं च तं जानीहि परसमयं ॥

"Know that *sva-samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *para-samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the *Karmic* matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the Non-self."

¹ Compare this passage (lines 49-50) with the passage in the Ranastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya : above, Vol. VI, pp. 357, text, line 83 : "श्रीदारपिञ्च(क)करकातपवारणादिस्तथा विशेषमहिमा" etc.

² [No evidence is available to indicate that Bhīma and Naravāhana were Śūdras. The statement that they belonged to the *Trinayana-kula* may only show that they were Śaivas. The Nolamba-Pallavas are described as born of the *Īśvara-vamśa* (*Īśvara-vamśaja*), and the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country have the epithet *Parama-vamś-ōdbhava*. It is also not certain that *Grēvya* is not a Brahminical *gōtra*. *Grīva* is known to be the name of a *gōtrārshi*.—N. L. R.]

³ I am indebted to Pandit Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL.B. of Lucknow, for the meaning of these terms. [The term is more likely *ajjaka* Skt. *āryaka*.—Ed.]

The edict states that king Ammarāja II issued the command after having assembled, in the usual manner, the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and *kuṭumbins* of the district of **Velanāṇḍu** and in the immediate presence of several high officials of his government. They are the entire circle of his vassal kings (*samasia-sāmanāṭa*), the *antahpura-mahāmātra*, the *purōhita*, the *amātya*; the *śrēṣṭhīn*, the *sēnāpati*, the *śrīkaraṇa*, the *Dharmādhyakṣa* and the twelve *sthān-ādhipatis*. In spite of his own faith, like a true Hindu sovereign, king Amma II was tolerant of the other faiths of his kingdom, and particularly of Jainism.

The object of the grant was the gift of the village of Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu, situated apparently in the Velanāṇḍu-vishaya. It is well known in the Āndhra country that Velanāṇḍu was the ancient name of the region that is bounded by the sea on the south-east and south, and the Kṛishṇā river on the north-east and north and which is now covered by the modern tālūks of Rōpalli and Tenāli in the Guṇṭūr District. Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu had changed its name during the past nine or ten centuries and is called to-day Peda-Gādelavarṇu. It is situated in the Tenāli tālūk, about three miles to the east of the Tsunḍūru railway station. The boundaries of the villages are according to the edict (II. 57-61) as follows:—On the east: a *dūba* (probably a mound) in the centre of the tank called Yisupakaṭṭala-cheruvu, on the boundary of the village Maṇḍayūru. On the south-east: (probably) a cluster *Būruvu-paḍuva* of silk cotton trees (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*) at the meeting place (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the boundaries of the villages, Ālaparṭi and Chūṇṭūru. On the south: an irrigation tank called Kuṇḍavidḍi-guṇṭha situated to the north of the ancient village site (*prānta-parṭi*) of Chūṇṭūru. On the south-west: the temple (*guḍi*) of Pōṭyavva or Pōṭi-avva, the *amma* (village goddess) of Chūṇṭūru. On the west: On the north-west: a tank called Gāralaguṇṭha on the boundary of the village of Valivēru. On the north: a marshy swamp (*paḍuva*) (?) belonging to the village of Tapparāla On the north-east: an irrigation tank called N. at the meeting place of the boundaries (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the villages, Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu, and Valivēru. All the above-mentioned localities, viz., Maṇḍayūru, Ālaparṭi, Chūṇṭūru, Valivēru, and Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu may be easily identified to-day. Ālaparṭi is known to-day as Ālapāḍu, and Chūṇṭūru is changed into Chuṇḍūru. Tapparāla had apparently gone out of existence and a new village called Parimi had sprung into existence in that neighbourhood. While all the other village names had not materially changed, the names of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** and **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** alone had altered. And that may be explained by the fact that the hard consonant *ḷa* had merely given place to soft consonant *da* in the pronunciation during the last nine or ten centuries. Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu is known to-day both as Kōḍe-Gādelavarṇu and China-Gādelavarṇu, the words *Kōḍe* and *Chinna* being synonymous. All the villages mentioned above are situated round about Peda-Gādelavarṇu.

Among the other localities mentioned in the record, **Vijayavāṭikā** is clearly identical with the modern town of Bezvāda on the Kṛishṇā river. The site or sites on which the two *Jīna-bhavanās* or Jaina temples once stood cannot be identified; perhaps an extensive exploration of the ancient sites of the locality may help us to discover the spot.

The executor of the charity was the officer known as **Kaṭakarāja**. From the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, we know that the office of *Kaṭakarāja* was held during the reign of Amma II by the General Duggarāja, a descendant of the celebrated Paṇḍaraṅga, the generalissimo of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. The engraver of the record was **Jayantāchārya**.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 व्याकृष्टरत्नक²चितायतश³र्गचापो यस्मेन्द्रकार्मुकविनौलपयोदह(व)न्दम् । ⁴निर्दग्धयन्त्रिवि-
विभा-
2 ति सकृणकान्ति⁵विष्णुशिवन्दिशतु वोवधृतचिलोकः ॥[१*] स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकल-
भुवनसंस्त्यमानमा-
3 नव्यसगोत्राणां हारोतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानाम्नादगणपरिपालितानां
स्वामि-
4 महासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहला⁷च्छनेन-
5 ण[च]णवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानामश्वमेधावभ्युत्थानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कु-
6 लमलंकरिणोऽस्यत्याश्रयवत्सभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्द्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि
7 वेंगोदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णु-
वर्द्धनो न-
8 व । तत्पुत्रोऽग्नियुवराजः पंचविंशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवर-
9 जः कोकिलिष्णुमासान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाव्य सप्तत्रिंशतम् ।
तत्पुत्रो वि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 जयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनःषट्त्रिंशतम् । ⁸नरेन्द्रमृगराजा[ख्यो] मृ-
11 गराज[पराक्रमः] । विजयादित्य[भूपालः] चत्वारि[शतमा] ८ — ॥[२*] त-
त्युत्र[कलिविष्णुवर्द्ध-
12 नो[ध्यवर्षम्] । तत्पुत्रो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतम् । ⁹तद्भ्रातृभ्योऽवराज्यो-
न्नतमहि-
13 [मभूतो] विक्रमादित्यभूपाज्जातश्चालुक्यभीमस्तकलनृपगु[णोत्कृ]ष्टचारित्रपात्रः । दानी
14 ¹⁰— — ८ — — ८ — — ८ रसकरः सार्वभौमप्रतापो । ¹¹राज्यं कृत्वा प्र[या]तः
चिदशपतिपदं

¹ From ink-impressions and photographs.² Read खचिता.³ Read निर्दग्धयन्त्रिव.⁴ Read लाङ्कनेच्छ.⁵ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.⁶ Read शाङ्गचापो.⁷ Read °विष्णु°.⁸ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*. The scribe apparently left out the last two syllables of the fourth quarter or *pādu* of the *śloka*.⁹ Metre : *Sragdharā*.¹⁰ I am unable to make out any sense from the faintly visible letters.¹¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

(From Photographs).

ii, b.

20	...	20
22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26

ir, b.

56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62

Seal.



- 15 ¹[त्रिंशदब्दा — ८]ण ॥[३*] तत्पुत्रः कलियत्तिगण्डविजयादित्यव्यसनात् ।
तत्सूतुरम्भराजस्स-
- 16 [स]वर्षाणि । तत्सुतं विजयादित्यं कण्डिकाक्रमायातपट्टाभिषेकं बालमुच्चाव्य² तालराजो
राज्यम्भास-
- 17 [मे]कं [१*] चालुक्यभीमसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्त्वं हत्वा एकादशमासान् । विजयादि-
त्यो वेंगीनाथ³कलियत्ति-
- 18 गण्डनामा धीमा³ । न्तस्य सति मे००ावा । तज्जम्भीराजमैरुपतिरजयः ॥ ⁵सत्य-
त्यागाभिमानाद्यखि-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 लगुण्युतो राजमार्त्ताण्डमाजौ ।² जित्वोग्रमङ्गपाख्यं ससुतमधिबलं द्रोहि[णो]-
प्यन्तकाभो । दिड्भीमो राष्ट्र-
- 20 कूटप्रबलबलतमस्मंहरो द्वादशाब्दं ।² राज्यं कृत्वागमत्सः ।² प्रणिहित[सुयशो] धर्मसन्तान-
वर्गः ॥[४*] वि-
- 21 णोः पद्मेव शंभोरिव गिरितनया यस्य देवी सपट्टा ।² संशुद्धा [हैहया]नान्निजकु-
[लवि]षये पुण्यला[व]-
- 22 खगण्या । लोकांवा तत्सुतोभूद्विजितपरबलो वेंगिनाथोम्भराजो ।² राजद्राजाधिराजो
[जितरिपु]⁶म-
- 23 कुटोद्वृष्टपादारविन्दः ॥[५*] वेंगो[राज्याभिषिक्तो] निजरिपुविजयादित्यमुद्यत्समर्थ² ।²
जित्वा[नेकाजिरंग]-
- 24 प्रजितपरबलं [कण्डिकादामकण्डं ।] न्दा(दा)यादद्रोहिवर्गानपि सकरबलः क्षत्रि-
[या]दित्यदे-
- 25 वो ।² ध्वस्तारिध्वान्तराशिर्विलसितकमलस्रप्रतापो विभाति ॥ [६*] यन्निर्मातु-
न्निमित्तं कृतमिदमखिलं विष्टपं हि
- 26 क्षिमूर्त्तिं ।² रात्मानं चालनास्मादिह सकलगुणै [राजभी]मोदहोभू । तेजोराशिः
प्रजानां पतिरधिकब-
- 27 [ल]स्रप्रतापोष्टमूर्त्तिं ।² स्तोयन्देवोम्भराजो जनगुणजनकोन[न्य*]राजाग्रचिह्नः ॥[७*]
स्वर्थाताः पूर्व-

¹ Read tentatively: त्रिंशदब्दाक्रमेण. [Reading is *trīṃśad-abda-pramāṇam*.—Ed.]

² Mark of punctuation is not necessary here.

³ Read: धीमान् । तस्य.

⁴ Read: सती.

⁵ This verse and the following four are in *Sragdharā* metre.

⁶ [Reading is राजद्राजाधिराज^०परवृत्^०.—N. L. R.]

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 नाथा नलनहुषहरिश्चन्द्ररामादयोपि ।¹ प्रत्यक्षांस्ते यशोभिर्गुणवपुरचला स्त्रैरिदानी-
 29 मदृष्टाः । यस्योच्चैः कीर्त्तिरा[शिर्भ]गण इव जगत्यद्वितीयोदयोस्मिन् । राजद्राजा-
 धिराजस्य ज-
 30 यति विजयादित्यदेवोन्मराजः ॥[८*] गद्यम् ॥ स जगतीपतिरुन्मराजो राजमहेन्द्रभो-
 गोन्द्रसह-
 31 स्रभोगोपहासिदौर्गवदक्षिणैकवहुसान्द्रितविश्वविश्वंभराभारः । नारायण
 32 इव निरन्तरानन्तभोगास्पदः । विधुरिष सुखविराजितः । पितामह इव कम-
 33 लासनः । गिविरिश⁴ इव धराधरसुताराधितः । रत्नाकर इव समस्त-
 34 शरणागतभूम्भदाश्रयः । सुवर्णाचल इव सुवर्णीतुंगोदयः । हिमाचल
 35 इव सिंहासनोक्तासितचमरीवालव्यजनविराजमानलीलः ॥ स सम-
 36 स्तभुवनाश्रयश्चोविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

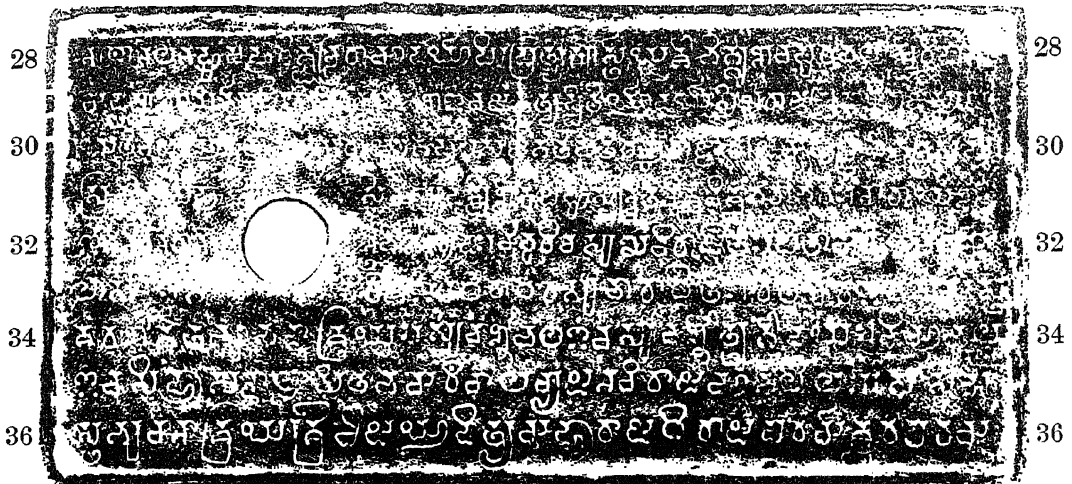
- 37 भट्टारकः । वेलनाण्डविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कु⁵टिबिनस्समस्त-
 38 सामन्ता[न्त]पुरमहामात्रपुरोहितामात्यश्रेष्ठिसेनापति⁶श्रीकरणधर्माध्यक्ष-
 39 द्वादशस्थान(ना)धिपतीन्समाह्वये⁷त्तमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वः । ⁸श्रीमानुदपा-
 40 दि मा(म)हान्निणयनकुलसाधुर . . . ग्रेव्याख्यो [1*] गोत्रो(त्रः) सिंहासनतो ।¹
 41 विदितो [न]रवाहनश्चालुक्खे[शानाम् ॥] [८*] श्रीकरणगुरुर्गुरुविव ।¹ विबुधगुरु-
 42 स्स[क]लरा[जसिद्धान्तज्ञः] । नरवाहन इत्यासीत्यक्तनरवाह[नः] प्रकाशित-
 43 यशसा ।[१०*] यस्यायसुतो गुणवान् ।¹ ⁹मेलपराजो गुणप्र[भा]वो¹⁰ दानी । मानी मा-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.² Read: कीर्त्ति°.⁴ Read गिरिश-⁶ Read श्रीकरण.⁸ The metre of this and the following 5 verses is *Aryāgīti*.⁹ The letter seems to read like स for there is a loop-like stroke at the bottom. If this is borne out by the plate, then the name of the chieftain has to be read as मैलप.¹⁰ [Reading may be *pradhānō*.—Ed.]³ Read बाहु.⁵ Read कुटुबिन°.⁷ Read समाह्वयेत्य°.

MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II—(II).

(From impressions).

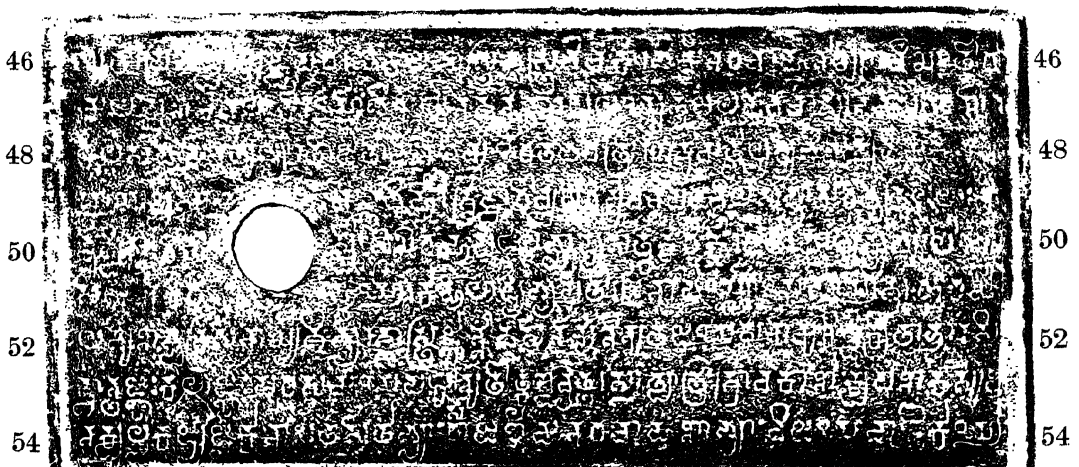
iiia.



iiib.



iva.



- 44 नवचरितो ।¹ मानवदेवो जिनेन्द्रपदपद्मा[र्चको]² ॥ [११*] तस्य सतो मेण्डांबा ।
सीतेव पति-
45 व्रता ³जिनव्रतचरिता । सत्यवती [वि]नयवती ।¹ सतताहारप्रदायिनी धृतधर्मा ।
[१२*] तज्जौ-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 46 [सु]तौ प्रसिद्धौ ।¹ बुद्धिपरौ ।¹ सकलशास्त्रशस्त्रविवेकौ । भीमनरवाहनाख्यौ ।⁴
विख्यातौ रा-
47 मलच्छणाविव लोके । [१३*] यौ भीमार्जुनश(स)ट्टशौ ।⁴ बलयुतबलदेववासुदेव-
[समा]नौ । [न]-
48 कुलसहदेवतुल्यौ ।¹ तौ जातौ जैनधर्मनिरतचरित्रौ ॥ [१४*] ⁵श्रीमत्चा⁶लुक्यभीम-
[क्षितिपतिरूप]-
49 या लब्धसामन्तचिह्नौ ।⁴ श्रीद्वारौ र्व्वरष्टीवन(?) पदविलसत्त्वा(च्चा)मरच्छ[लीलौ] । —
50 — — — रिकस्थौ शिखिरुहपटलच्छाद्यसत्कर्करौकौ ।⁴ जातौ चालुक्य[चूलौ]
51 ८ ८ ८ करिहयौ काहलाद्यभ्युपेतौ ॥ [१५*] ⁵जैनाचार्यौ यदीयो गुरुराखि-
52 लमुलङ्घनसिनाख्यशिष्यौ⁷ ।⁴ शशास्त्रज्ञोर्ना(ना)यसेनो म्मु(मु)निगुतजयसेनो मुनिर्दीक्षितात्मा ।
सि-
53 ज्ञान्तज्ञः कलाज्ञः परसमयपटुः ⁸सन्नुतोत्कृष्टवृत्त ।⁴ स्सत्पात्रः आवकाणां क्षपणकसु[ज]-
54 नक्षुल्लकार्य्या(र्या)ज्जकानाम् ॥ [१६*] तस्मै ताभ्यां राजभीमनरवाहणा(ना)भ्यां विजय-
वाटिकायां

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

55 जिनभवनयुगनिर्मितमेतद्धर्मार्थमस्माभिस्सर्व्वकरपरिहारं देवभोगो-

56 कृत्य पेद्दगा⁹लिडि⁹परुणाम ग्रामो दत्तः [१*] अस्यावधयः । पूर्व्वतः मण्डयू-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

² [Reading is पदपद्मालि;—N. L. R.]

³ The word जिनव्रत is written below the line; obviously the scribe inserted it in revision.

⁴ Danda is unnecessary.

⁵ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁶ Read श्रीमच्चालुक्य.

⁷ Read शिष्यशशास्त्रज्ञौ.

⁸ The letter स is written beneath the line; it appears to have been inserted by the scribe during revision.

⁹ I am inclined to read the letter as डि in preference to दि.

- 57 रिपोलगरुसुन यिसु कटलचेपुवुन नडिमि दूव [1] आग्नेयतः आलप¹रु²युं
जुंटरि-
- 58 युं मुख्यकुट्टु³[न] वूरुव पडुव । दक्षिणतः चूटरि प्रान्त[प⁴रु⁵ति]युत्तरं वुन कुण्डि-
- 59 विडिगुण्ड । नैर्ऋत्यतः चूटरियम्नपोव्यवगुडि । [पश्चिमतः] रटि[प]डुमटि-
दरि । वा-
- 60 यव्यतः वलिवेरिपोलगरुसुन गारलगुण्ड । उत्तरतः तप्पराल प[ड]व । ई-
- 61 शानतः कोडगा⁶डि⁷प⁸रु⁹ति युं [वलिवेरियुं सु]य्यलकुट्टुन नडुपनिगुण्ड ॥
तस्य [स्थे]यादलं³
- 62 ध्यं शु(सु)चिरमुत्तरं [शास]नं राजकोक्तं । सक्तो(क्ती)र्त्तैर्व्विगपस्य प्रकटगुणनि-
धेरम्मराजस्य पूज्यं ।
- 63 तचेदं शा[स]नं [पालित]जिननिगमं⁴ शौर्य्यभौतान्यनाथव्रातो[च्चै]र्म्मौलिमालामणिव(क)-
मकरिको⁵मल्लि-

Fifth Plate.

- 64 कोल्लासितांग्रिः(घ्रेः) ॥[१७*] अस्थोपरि न केन चिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या यः करोति स
पंचमहापातकसं-
- 65 युक्तो भवति ॥ तथाचोक्तं व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
यस्य य-
- 66 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[१८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
वसुधरां [1*] षष्टिं व-
- 67 षंसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्लमिः ॥[१९*] सर्व्वानेतान्माविनः ⁶पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो
- 68 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीय्यो(यो) भवद्भिः
॥[२०*]
- 69 महंशजाः परमह्नीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालय-
- 70 न्ति मम धर्म[मि]मं समस्तं तेषां मया विरचितौजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥[२१*]
आन्नमिः[*] कटक राजः । जयन्ताचा-
- 71 र्य्येण लिखितम् ॥⁷

¹ See note 9 on the previous page.² Metre : *Śragdharā*.³ The dot denoting the *anusvāra* on this letter is placed by the scribe at the beginning of the next line.⁴ [Reading is शासनं च स्थितजिननिगमं—N. L. R.]⁵ Read मकरिका.⁶ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रा^०.⁷ There is an ornamental design after this.

No. 39.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND K. GOPALACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

I. 'Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions' (above, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., No. 6).

Chanda reads: 'Malamāvuka..yā Retiyā thabho', and translates '(This) pillar (is the gift) of.....Reti, an inhabitant of (wife of?) Malamāvuka'. The letter after *ka* is clearly *ja*. The next letter exhibits the outlines of *ya*, and in No. 12 *jāyāyā* occurs. The inscription may then be read, 'Malamāvuka-[jāyā]yā Retiyā thabho' i.e., 'gift of a pillar by the wife of Malamāvuka.'

II. *Op. cit.* No. 9.

Chanda reads: 'Kaṁma . . yā Apakuyā [tha]bho', and adds, 'Two letters after Kaṁma have been broken off'. The Editor suggests 'Perhaps they were *kaṁma yā*'. The first letter, though much mutilated, has the backbone and limbs of *ja* partially visible. So again the word is *jā[yā]yā*.

III. *Op. cit.* No. 26.

Chanda reads: '[cha]chuli sa[m*]ghāya' and translates '.....to the brotherhoodchachuli'. The *cha* at the beginning indicates that more than one person donated the object on which the inscription is incised. What is read as *chuli* should be read as *chula*; for what is taken as the *i* mark is nothing but the ornamental vertical of *la*. See *li* (No. 41). *Chula* often occurs in Amarāvati inscriptions as part of personal names, and as Saṁgha (also Haṁgha) is also a name of frequent occurrence: '.....cha Chula-saṁghāya' is the correct reading. The translation is '.....and to Chula-saṁgha.'

IV. *Op. cit.* No. 41.

Chanda reads: '.....mahā govalivu bālikāya', and translates 'of the great cowherd's daughter'. What is read as *li* in *govalivu* is only *la* (compare *li* in *bālikāya*) and as *govalava* gives sense, and what is taken as the *u* sign is just a crease on the stone, and as the application of *Mahā* to a *govalava* (Skt. *gōvalābha*), an officer under the king, is more probable than to a cowherd, *govalava* would seem to be the correct reading. Meaning, 'of the daughter of the Mahā-gōvalābha'.

The characters resemble those of the inscription of Śivamaka Śātakarṇi.

V. *Op. cit.* No. 56.

What is read as 'Turughura' should be read as 'Turulūra'; see line 39, Bühler's table III. Turulūra is mentioned in another Amarāvati inscription (Lüders: *List of Brahmi Inserr.*, No. 1209).

VI. *Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text l. 11):

Imaṁ chetiyaṁ vihāro cha.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel reads 'imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro cha', and explains *khaniya* by Pāli *khāṇu* 'pillar' (Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*). The explanation is far from satisfactory. In our epigraphs, a pillar, even a vihāra pillar, is called *khaṁbha* (Inserr. F, B5, C3, etc.). In fact *chetiyaṁ* seems to be the correct reading, only the letter *che* is rather carelessly engraved. The *chetiya* referred to is probably stūpa No. 6. In inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a *chetiya*, *chetiya-ghara* and *vihāra* often occur together.

VII. *Additional Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 64. Inscription L, text l. 10) : B[o]dhisiri.

Dr. Vogel has read it as [E]dhisiriya. The letter read doubtfully as *e* is probably *ba* and the name B[o]dhisiri—a name met with in these epigraphs. [The first syllable does not look like *Bo* to me.—Ed.]

VIII. *Op. cit.*, L, l. 3 and M3, l. 5 : Vasasataya.

Dr. Vogel read the term as 'vasasanaya' in inscr. L, and as 'vasasanāya' in inscr. M3, and treated it as a term of uncertain meaning. In a footnote the Editor has asked, 'can it be *vasasatāya*'? The difference between the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *ta* and *na* is often fairly clear. Though we are not sure of the *ta* in inscr. L, in M3 we have surely *ta* and not *na* (compare *Mahāvīnaseli-gānam*, l. 6) :—*vasasatāya samva 10*. The same term occurs in the Chinna Ganjam inscr. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi and the Banavāsi inscr. of the time of Hāritiputa Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Sātakaṇi—'*vasasatāya samvachhara sata[vi] . . man 20+7*' in the former, and '*vasasatāya savachharam 10+2*', in the latter. In our epigraphs also *vasasatāya* occurs before *samvachhara*.

According to Bühler *vasasatāya* has the same import as the phrases *pravarāhanāna-riṇaya-rāṇiṇa-samvatsara*, *riṇaya-samvatsara*, etc., of the Pallava and Chālukya (and Śālaṅkāyana) grants. This seems to be ultimately connected with the Vedic ideal of *Paśyāma śaradaś=śatam*.

IX. *Lüders' List No. 1078*.

The inscription may be read with great probability :—

- 1 Nāḍasa Va[dha]nāyasa.
- 2 Bhogavatasa gābho dānam.

The fifth letter in l. 1 is very unlike any other *sa* in the inscription, and seems to be *dha*, of which the upper part has peeled off. The present reading is based on a careful examination of the estampage in the office of the Archaeological Superintendent at Poona, and the rather unsatisfactory photozincograph in the *Cave Temples of W. India* (Vol. IV, Plate XLIV) does not contradict it. The inscription may be translated : 'A cell, the gift of Nāḍa Vaḍhanāya Bhogavata'.

X. *Lüders' List No. 1165 : Junnar (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 97, No. 27 and Pl. L.)*.

The first letter of what is read as *nesakaresu* and restored as *vasakaresu* is neither *na* nor *va*. It is unlike the three *na*-s in the same inscription ; the open base of the letter makes *va* equally impossible. Moreover, it is not proper to ignore the *e* sign over the letter in any emendation of the text. The only possible reading is *tesakaresu* (the Skt. form is probably *tējaskarēṣhu*, polishers) ; Junnar Nos. 24, 25 and 29 have similar *ta*-s. What is read as *pāō* is *pāu* and what is read as *pā[do] se[ma]* is clearly *pāu māse*.

So we have

- 1 Seniye tesakare[su]
- 2 māse pāunaduke |
- 3 kāsā(sa)kāresu seniya(ye) p[ā]u māse

meaning : "With the guild of *tesakaras*, monthly, one and three quarters. With the guild of *kāsakāras*, monthly, one quarter". [The derivation of *tesakara* from Skt. *tējaskara* is extremely doubtful.—Ed.]

XI. *Lüders' List No. 1105*: above, Vol. VII, pp. 64 f. (Karla No. 19, text, l. 5,—year 17.)

The unit figure was read as 4 by Bühler and as 8 by Rapson. Senart thinks that it may be any unit number (above, Vol. VII, p. 65). It is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson as it is open to the left and not to the right, or 4 as read by Bühler as it is quite unlike the symbol for 4 which occurs in the next line. A study of the inscription from the stone and from a fresh impression (reproduced here) shows that 7 is more probable than any other unit figure. The square characters employed in our inscription may account for the angular form of the symbol. It would appear to be a slightly later form, but such late forms are not unknown in the Karla inscriptions; witness symbol for 1 in the last line of this very inscription.

Rapson's historical argument (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. p. xlix) for the figure being read as 18 is based on the word *viṣayaṣaśatākhe* which is now seen to mean not 'from victorious camp' but 'for the sake of victory and prosperity'. (*Vide* Koṇḍamuḍi plates, above, Vol. VI, p. 319, n. 7.)

XII. *The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman*. (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff., text, l. 42)

Mahātalavarena.

It was long before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru and Rāmaredḍipalle inscriptions which mention the office of *Mahātalavara* that Hultzsch read the word as '*Mahātugivarena*' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family'. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, n. 1), Vogel, and following him other writers, have merely remarked that '*Mahātugivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātalavarena*'. But the peculiar form of *la* in the word '*Bṛihatphalāyana*' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve, leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* by Hultzsch has to be read as *la* and the word is therefore really *mahātalavarena* in l. 42.

XIII. *The Kollair plates of Nandivarman II*. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff., text, l. 4):

Videtūrapallikā.

Fleet's reading is *Videnūrapallikā*. But in the plates under reference, e.g., lines 1, 3, etc., as also in the Peddavēgi and Kantēru plates, all Śālaṅkāyana records, the re-ascent in the *ū* sign in *nū* is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nū* in the word under discussion, the re-ascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tū*. Hence the correct reading seems to be: *Videtūrapallikā*.

XIV. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff., the *Ellore plates of Dēvavarman*. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 31 f., the *Kantēru grant of Nandivarman*; *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., the *Paddavēgi plates of Nandivarman*; and the *Kollair plates* (cited in XIII above). **Mududa**(ḍa?), **Mutuda**.

The reading of the word is not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada* (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14). Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found, and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 176 n). Reading it as '*Mut-yada*' he corrected it to '*Amātyādi*'. While editing the Ellore Prākṛit grant of Dēvavarman, Hultzsch read it as *Muḥuḍa* and remarked:—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to readMunūḍa; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may in reality be an obliterated *hu*" (p. 59, n. 4). But *ḥa* has always a short curve attached to it at the right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates). What is read as *ḥa* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads the word in the Sanskrit grants as *Munūḍa*.

The word, which occurs in 4 of the 5 grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, can have but one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kantēru plates, the re-ascent in the *u* sign in the proper *nu* is to

the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu* here, as in *Videśūrapallikā*, the re-ascent is to the right. The letter can only be *tu*. That the last letter is *ḍa* and not *da*, is shown by copper-plate No. 2 of 1924-25 (Madras), where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right whilst that of *da* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct Sanskrit reading, Hultzsch's reading must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa* which would be the Prākṛit form of *Mutuḍa*.

XV. *The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman* (Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff., text, ll. 2-3).

Anēka-gō-sahasr-ānēka-Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya.

Hultzsch has read the word preceding *gō-sahasra* as *gō-sahasra* and translated ; 'pregnant'. A careful examination of the plates shows that the proper reading of the phrase is as given above.

Hultzsch's translation : "(and) who is the origin of the production (*i.e.*, who has caused the performance) of many *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of (gifts of) thousands of pregnant cows", must be amended into : "(and) who is born of one who was the cause (or one who was born) of several *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of several *gō-sahasras*", meaning that Dāmōdaravarman's father made these two *dānas* repeatedly. The play upon the word *udbhava* has special reference to the nature of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and is untranslatable.

XVI. A Karla Chaitya Pillar Inscription.

While all other Chaitya Pillar inscriptions at Karla are incised on octagonal columns having a pot-shaped base, lotus-shaped top, and elephant capital, this inscription is on one of the eight plain octagons in the apse, standing second from the right row. (Marked x on the photograph.)

The letters resemble those on the other pillars. But the cursive *ha* of our inscription, especially the *hi* in *putahi*, is peculiar. Medial *o* is indicated in *bho* by two short strokes one going up and the other going down from the horizontal. The *e* sign in *Je* is attached to the centre of the letter.

The orthography of the inscription calls for very few remarks. In cognate inscriptions *be* is used for *dve*, *e.g.*, *būṭiye* for *dvitīyē* (Karla No. 22, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 and Nāsik No. 2 above, Vol. VIII, p. 60), *būṭiyika* for *dvitīyikā* (Junnar Nos. 3 and 18 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 95). In one of the Junnar inscriptions (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, pp. 96-7) we have however *ve*.

The language is Prākṛit.

The personal names, Jebubhūti, Miṭidasa and Bhayabhūti are names not met with in other records, though the last one may recall to our mind the Bhāya..... of a Nānāghai reliefs inscription. *Dāsa* and *bhūti* enter into the composition of names (Nāsik No. 8, above, Vol. VIII and *ASWI.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 83 ff.).

TEXT.

- 1 Dhenukākāṭa Miṭidasa-vejasa
- 2 thabho dāna[m] sahā bhariyāya Jayami-
- 3 tāye(ya) sahā ve put[e]hi Bhayabhūtinā
- 4 Jebubhūtinā¹ cha Vasumit[ā]ya cha.

TRANSLATION.

Gift of a pillar by the physician (*vejasa* Skt. *vaidyasya*) Miṭidāsa, of Dhenukākāṭa, with his wife Jayamitā, two sons Bhayabhūti and Jebubhūti¹ and with Vasumitā.²

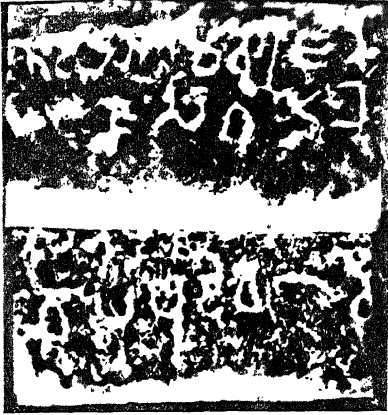
¹ [Reading may be *Jabu-* or *Jambubhūti*.—Ed.]

² She was perhaps a daughter.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARLA.

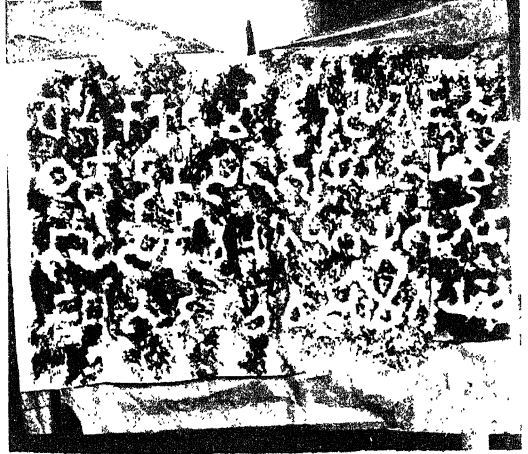
XI.

Karla Inscription of the year 17.



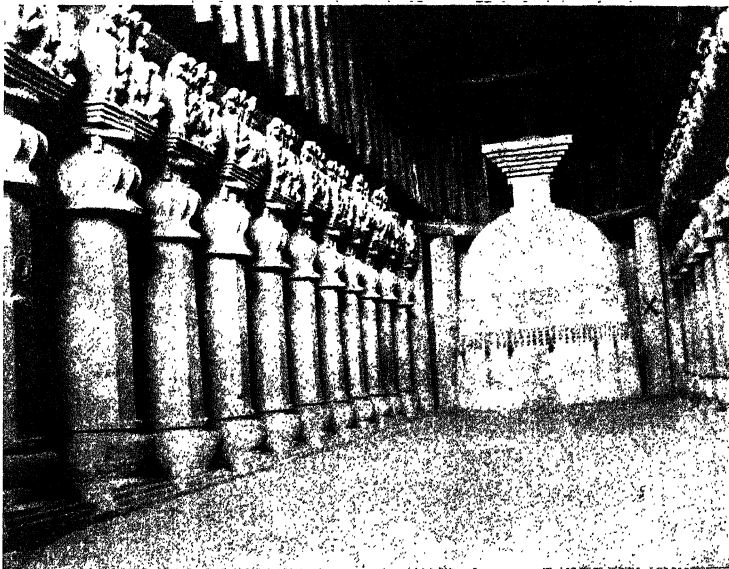
XVI.

Karla Chaitya Pillar inscription.



XVI.

Karla Chaitya showing the inscribed pillar.



(From photographs).

No. 40.—TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The **two seals** edited here for the first time were discovered at **Nālandā** in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, which is the exclusive find-spot of almost all the royal seals found there. Both of them are fragmentary, the upper corner of the right portion of the first and the whole of the upper half of the second one being missing. The legends on them, however, can be restored almost in their entirety by a reference to the already known seals of the dynasty.

The writing on the seals presents much the same **palæographical** features as the **Aśīrgaḍh** and **Nālandā** seals of **Śarvavarman**¹ and does not call for any special remarks. As regards **orthography**, the only point to be noted is the doubling of consonants in words of which the following may be regarded as typical : *atikkṛānta*, *kīrtti*, *chakkra*, *artti*, *puttra*, and *Śarvvavarmṃā*. The word *anudhyāta*, however, occurs twice on the second seal (ll. 4 and 5 of the existing portion) without any such doubling.

A perusal of the texts given below will show that the seals carry the **Maukhari genealogy two generations below Śarvavarman**, with whom it stops in the **Aśīrgaḍh** and **Nālandā** seals mentioned above. Seal A belongs to **Avantivarman** who is distinctly stated to have been the son of **Śarvavarman**. **Avantivarman** is already known to historians from his coins² and **Bāṇa's Harshacharita**, wherein he figures as the father of the ill-fated **Grahavarman** who married **Rājyaśrī**, the sister of **Harsha**.³ Lack of knowledge about the relation between **Śarvavarman** and **Avantivarman** led to various conjectures. It was probably **Fleet**⁴ who for the first time inserted **Susthitavarman** (known from the **Aphsaḍ** inscription⁵ to have been defeated by **Mahāsānagupta**) between **Śarvavarman** and **Avantivarman** and has been followed by some modern writers on the subject.⁶ However, with the discovery of the **Nīlhāṇpur** copper-plate of **Bhāskaravarman** of **Assam**,⁷ other scholars have been led to the correct belief that this **Susthitavarman** was a predecessor of **Bhāskaravarman** and not a **Maukhari** prince at all.⁸ But the relation between **Śarvavarman** and **Avantivarman** was still uncertain. **Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri** is doubtful about their exact relationship.⁹ And similar uncertainty has been expressed by other recent writers.¹⁰

The present seals disclose for the first time that **Avantivarman was the son of Śarvavarman and his queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā**. We have thus a complete genealogy of the **Maukharis** from **Harivarman** to **Avantivarman**, with some doubt about the position of **Sūryavarman** who is mentioned in the **Harāhā** inscription as a son of **Īśānavarman**.¹¹ That **Sūryavarman's** name does not appear on the seals of **Śarvavarman** and his successors does not conclusively prove that he never came to the throne, for such lists are genealogical and not always dynastic. But this, together with the fact that no coin belonging to him has as yet been found, though there are coins of other *mahārājādhirājas* of the family, makes the incident of his

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 219; above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.

² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27.

³ *Harshacharita* (ed. Parab), p. 141.

⁴ Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff.

⁶ Cf. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 39; Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 52.

⁷ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 73 ff.

⁸ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, p. 493; Banerji, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 255 ff.

⁹ Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 518.

¹⁰ Cf. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 104; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 49.

¹¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

accession extremely doubtful.¹ Probably he was a younger brother of Śarvavarman or else predeceased his father at a young age; at any rate, it is entirely unnecessary to postulate a fraternal war after Iśānavarman.

Attempts have been made² to identify this Sūryavarman with the king of that name mentioned in a Sirpur inscription,³ in which a Sūryavarman figures as a Varman king of Magadha and as the father-in-law of **Harshagupta**, the nephew of **Mahāsiva-Tivara** of Southern Kōśala. But the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman are nowhere mentioned as a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their capital being Kanauj. Moreover, a detailed examination of the inscriptions of the Kosalan Pāṇḍavas leads us to place Tivara at a date much later than A. D. 554, to which year the Harāhā inscription belongs. That, however, is a different matter and need not detain us here.

Regarding the history of Avantivarman next to nothing is known. In the present seals he is styled *mahārājādhirāja*, while the Dēś-Baraṇṇark inscription⁴ calls him *paramēśvara*. Bāṇa describes him as the 'ornament of the Maukhari race'.⁵ He seems to have continued the imperial traditions of his family.

The second of the present seals introduces us to the son of Avantivarman, only the first two letters of whose name remain and can be read as **Suva** or **Sucha**⁶ This is a fact which does not readily fit in with the known facts of history. Bāṇa unequivocally states that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman⁷; as such he is expected to have come to the throne after Avantivarman. It is usually assumed by historians that when Grahavarman was killed by Dēvagupta of Mālwa, the throne of Kanauj fell vacant and was offered to Harsha, who accepted it after some hesitation. This is perhaps stating the complicated course of events too simply. It is possible that the second son of Avantivarman came to the throne after the murder of Grahavarman as the rightful owner before Harsha occupied it in the name of his sister. It is also possible that Grahavarman was still a prince when he was killed⁸ and that some time elapsed between that event and Harsha's occupation of Kanauj, so that on the death of Avantivarman his younger son came to the throne and continued to rule till he was deposed by Harsha. This son, the author of the present seal, might have been the progenitor of the later Maukhari dynasty, a scion of which, Bhōgavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari race', married his daughter to a Nepāl king in the eighth century.⁹ In short, it seems reasonable to hold that there was a legal heir to the Maukhari throne even after the death of Grahavarman; this may explain why Harsha was hesitating to accept the sceptre of Kanauj.¹⁰

The text given below is transcribed from the original seals, now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā.

¹ Cf. Pires, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

² Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 512 n. 1; Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 190.

⁴ Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Harshacharita*, p. 141.

⁶ The reading has been suggested by the Government Epigraphist for India. [It is curious that the *Māṇjuśrī-mūla-kūṭya* mentions a king Suvra after Graha; see Ganapati Sastri's edition (Triv. Skt. Series), p. 626. See also K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 27 §19 (c). Jayaswal corrects the last *pāda* of the verse as *Graha-Suvrata (a)h=āparaḥ* which according to the ordinary rules of *Anuṣṭubh* would spoil the metre. As the last visible letter on this seal seems to be a part of *n* and as there seems to be a *rēpha* sign below it I am tempted to restore the concluding portion as *śrī-Sucha(nḍavarmanā Maukharib)*.—Ed.]

⁷ *Harshacharita*, p. 141: *tatr=āpi tilaka-bhūṭasy=Avantivarmanah sūnur=agrajō Grahavarmā nāma*.

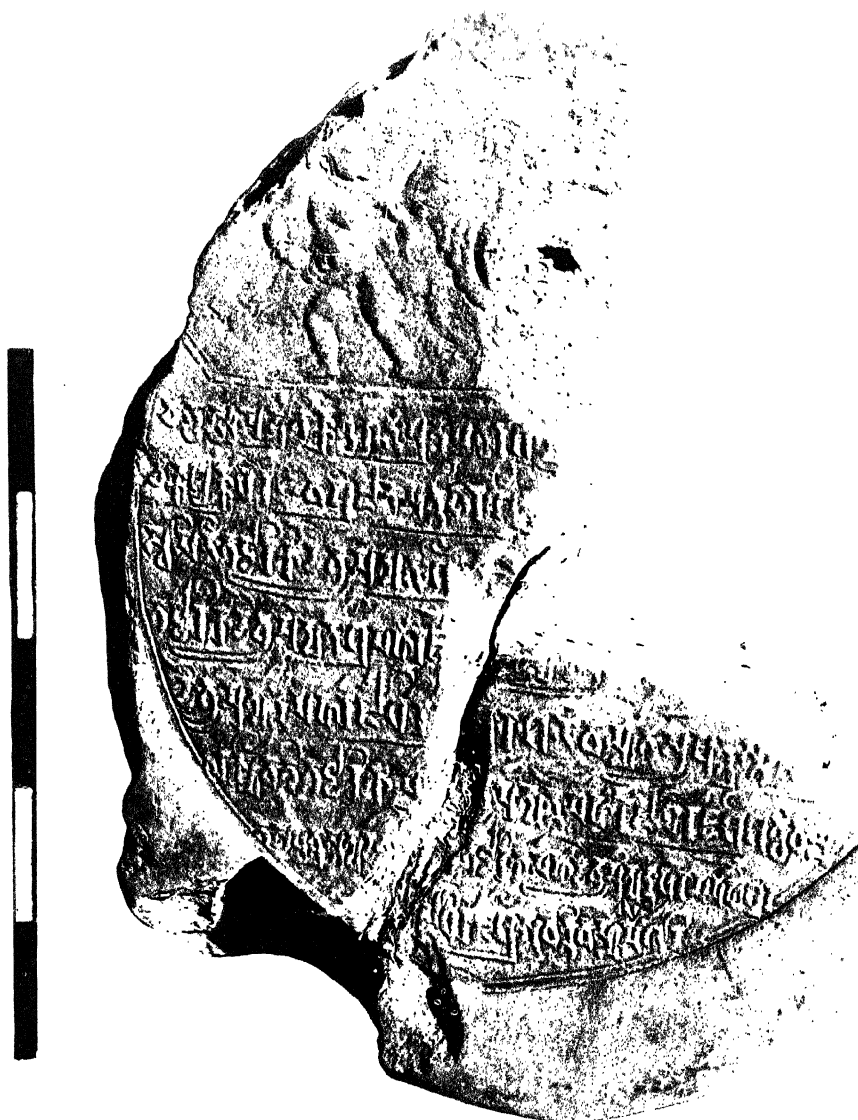
⁸ Bāṇa is silent as to whether Grahavarman ever came to the throne, unless the word *dēva*, used in one place (p. 183), is taken to show his royal position.

⁹ Kātmāṇḍu inscription of Jayadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

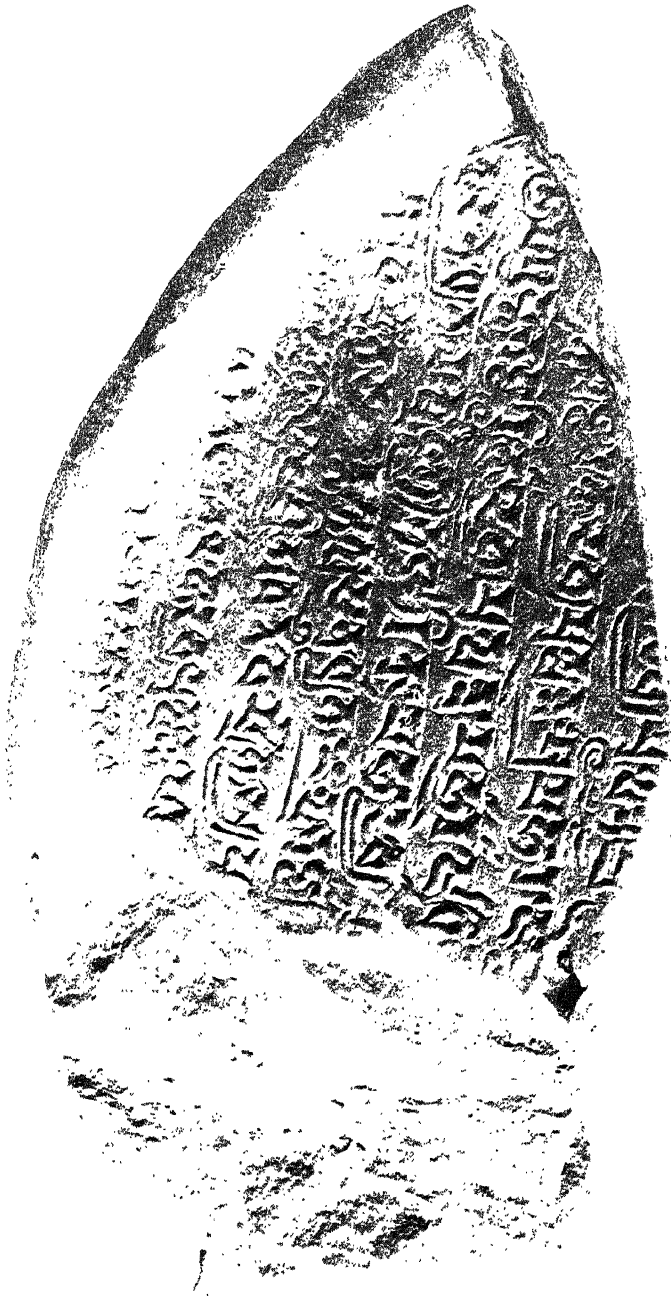
¹⁰ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 211.

TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

A.



B.



A.—Seal of *Arantiraman* (Reg. No. 852).

- 1 āśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛtṭiḥ prat[ā]p-[ā]mur[ā]g-ōpa[ra]h-āyā-ā[ā]j[ō] varṇ-
 2 chakras=Chakkradhara iva prajānānuvartti-harah śrī-[ā]m[ā]hārāj-āśvavarṇmā tasya
 3 sv[ā]mini-bhāṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām utpannā śrī-mahārāj-āśvavarṇmā tasya putras=tat-
 4 pād-ānudhyātō Harshaguptā*]-¹
 5 bhāṭṭārikā-dēvyām utpannā śrī-mahārāj-[Ēśvaravarṇmā tasya putras=tat-pād-ānu-
 6 dhyātā Upaguptā-bhāṭṭārikā*]-¹
 7 dēvyām=utpann[ō] mahārājādhirāj-śrī*]-¹ Īśānavarṇmā tasya putras=tat-pād-
 8 ānudhyātō*]-¹
 9 Lakshmivati-bhāṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām utpannā mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvvavarṇmā
 10 tasya putras=tat-pād-ā[nudhyātā Indra*]-² bhāṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannā parama-
 11 mahēśvar[ō]
 12 -śrī-Avantivarṇmā Maukharīḥ.

1³vyām-utpa[n]ha....
2tār[īk]ā-dēvyām-utpanna[ḥ] śrī-mahārāj-Ē....
3 Upaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannō mahārājādhi.....
4 t-pād-ānudhyātō Lakshmivati-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyā....
5 Śarvvavarmmā tasya [pu]jitas tat-pād-ānudhyāta Indra-bhaṭṭā....
6 [mahārājādhirāja]-śrī-Avantivarmmā tasya pu.....
7 [vati ?]-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ para.....
8 rājā[dhi]rāja-śrī-Suva.....⁴

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The record which is engraved in **Tamiḻ** and **Grantha** characters, contains an introductory portion in **Tamiḻ** which states that on the occasion of the king's performing a *tulābhāra* ceremony, his *rājamahishi* **Ōduva Tirumalaidevi-Ammaṇavargaḷ** composed two Sanskrit *ślokas*⁶ and had them engraved in several holy places, Śrīraṅgam being one of them, so that the descendants of prince **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāḍri** may rule as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*). Then follow the two verses referred to, and the epigraph closes with an epilogic sentence in **Tamiḻ**.

⁶ The *śloka*s refer only to the gift of *Ānandanidhi* and not to the *tuḷabhāra*; and it is possible that both the ceremonies were performed on the same occasion at Hampi.

Several records¹ copied at different places mention that the senior queen (*paṭṭamaṭṭishā*) of king Achyuta was Varadādēvi-Ammaṇ and that the crown-prince Veṅkaṭādri *alias* Chikkarāya was her son. That the king had another queen named Tirumalāmbā was known only from the references in the two Telugu works *Vijayavilāsaṁ* and *Raghuvaṭṭābhyaṅgaṁ*.² which also supply the additional information that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was given in marriage to China Chevvappa-Nāyaka, along with the governorship of the Tanjore principality as dowry. The present inscription is important in its furnishing **epigraphical confirmation** as to the existence of this queen Tirumalāmbā and in enabling us to identify her with Ōduva (or Vōduva) Tirumalāmbā, the composer of the two Sanskrit verses under reference, as also of another verse³ commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmins at Hampi in Śaka 1455. It is possible that the three verses⁴ recording the king's celebration of the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1455 in company with his queen Varadāmbikā and prince China-Veṅkaṭādri, were also her composition.

A Sanskrit *champu-kāvya* called the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* was written by a certain Tirumalāmbā, who describes herself in its colophon⁵ as 'the favourite of king Achyuta'. As indicated by its title, the theme of this work is the marriage of Achyuta with Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of the two brothers bearing the name of Tirumala, narrated in the usual conventional style. It may have been composed in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya⁶ himself, and the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta by name Veṅkaṭādri and the latter's anointment as *yuvārāja* at the time of his father's coronation may probably have been added on later by the same authoress.⁷ Though of average literary merit, the *kāvya* is interesting because of the quasi-historical nature.

¹ She is referred to as a *paṭṭamaṭṭishā* in a record dated in Śaka 1463 (*Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* 1930, p. 245) and in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (No. 330 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30). See also No. 181 of 1922 of Śaka 1455.

² S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 255, 285.

³ No. 9 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904 and No. 708 of 1922.

⁴ These unpublished verses (No. 511 of 1919) may, with advantage, be reproduced here.

शके भूतशरावधौन्दुगणिते वर्षे पुनर्नन्दने
मासे श्रावणनामके च विसले पक्षे रविर्वासरे ।
द्वादश्यां हरिसन्निधौ अरुच्यन्मुक्तातुलापूरुषं
दानं श्रीनरसाच्युतचित्तिपतिः काञ्चीपुराभ्यन्तरे ॥
मुक्तातुलापूरुषदानविधौ विक्रोत्रा-
न्मुक्तामणीन् समधिकां वरदाविकायाः ।
दानाङ्गिपूरपरितान् रयतस्समेत्य
रत्नाकरलभजल्लवणाकरोपि ॥
काञ्च्यां श्रीचिन्मयेकटाद्रिमणिना दाने तुलाभारके
संप्रत्यारचिते विजायसमभवन्नर्थातिभाराकुलाः ।
धात्रीयं कलिकलमपादधिगतादुक्तीर्नभारा जनौ
वीथीपालकुमारकाः सदितारे भाराय जाता भुवः ॥

These verses are also found in No. 178 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection from Kāñchasthi, now under publication in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX.

⁵ विविधविद्याप्रणयराजाधिराजाच्युतरायसार्वभौमप्रेमसर्वस्वविश्वासमुवा तिरुमलाम्बया—(*Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-champu* edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, pp. 179-80).

⁶ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170.

⁷ The coronation of Achyuta took place towards the end of A. D. 1529, when Veṅkaṭādri was also anointed *yuvārāja* (*Achyutarāyābhyaṅgaṁ*). The *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* states that on seeing the prince adorned with all good qualities, the king made him heir-apparent. So the latter portion may have been supplemented after A. D. 1530.

of its contents¹ and the light it throws on contemporary political and social life. We may infer from it that this poetess Tirumalāmbā was identical with Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇ-avargal (Vōduva² Tirumalammanavaru), who, originally a 'Reader' (Ōduva) at the royal court, subsequently rose to the position of a co-queen (*rājamahishī*) herself.³ It may also be noted that she was one of the galaxy⁴ of poetesses, royal and otherwise, who attained to literary fame under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings.

The fervent hope expressed in this inscription by Tirumalāmbā that the performance of *dhānas* and the engraving of the commemorative verses in holy places would ensure for Venkaṭādrī's descendants the rule of the kingdom as *sūrabhaumas*, implies that doubts had probably begun to be entertained even at this time, as to whether the prince would be allowed to peacefully succeed his father, if such a contingency arose. The danger that threatened his regal hopes came from two quarters.⁵ Towards the end of Achyuta's reign, his ambitious brothers-in-law Salakam Pedda-Tirumalarāja and China-Tirumalarāja had usurped much power into their hands and, in the event of the king's death, were even prepared to wrest the kingdom from their helpless nephew, by fair means or foul. Then there was also the party of nobles led by Aliya-Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of the late king Kṛṣṇarāja. This astute general, by espousing the cause of Sadāśivarāja on the plea of his being the son of an elder brother of Achyuta, schemed to overthrow the power of the Salakam brothers and concentrate it in his own hands. This tussle for power must have already attained definite shape and proportions at the time of the present record in A. D. 1539, for the co-queen to have voiced her devout prayer. It is, however, unfortunate that the cupidity of the younger uncle China-Tirumalarāja proved stronger than the prayer, for he is believed to have strangled⁶ his royal nephew in A. D. 1543, when the latter was on the throne only for a few months.⁷

As regards the two verses quoted in this epigraph which are couched in the *Śārdūlanikṛīṭa* metre, it may be mentioned that more than a dozen copies⁸ of them exist in the different scripts of the kingdom, Tamiḷ, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Grantha and Nāgarī, and in several places, so far apart as Anjigere in the Bombay Presidency and Śrīraṅgam in the Madras Presidency; but in none of them is there the additional information furnished by the Śrīraṅgam copy. While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of *Anandanidhi* made by the king in Śaka 1461, the Tamiḷ portion refers to the performance of a *tulābhāra* on the same day. This was also probably celebrated in the

¹ The information it gives about Narasa's military achievements is particularly useful.

² This is the spelling adopted in the Kannaḍa version of No. 9 of 1904.

³ See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170, f.n. and also p. 11 of Introduction, *Varadāmbikāparinaya-champū*.

⁴ Gaṅgādēvi, the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* and the wife of Prince Kampana, was a notable example. There was another named Mōhanāṅgi, who wrote the *Māricīparinayam*.

⁵ For a discussion on these points, vide Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 76 et seq.

⁶ Brigg's *Firishka*, III, p. 83 as quoted in *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty*, p. 79. The *Mahisūranarapativijayam* and copper-plate records simply state that after a short reign Venkaṭādrī died. (*Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1907, p. 14 and above, vol. IV, p. 14.)

⁷ No. 597 of 1929-30 from Handāḍi (South Kanara), dated in Śubhakṛit, mentions that Venkaṭādrīrāja was ruling at Vijayanagara.

⁸ Hampi (Nos. 27, 28, 39 and 40 of 1889, and No. 1 of 1904); Anantasaṃyanagudi (Nos. 634 and 635 of 1922); Kamalāpur (Nos. 17 and 20 of 1904); Harihar (Dāvanagere 24); Nīrgunda (Holalkere 123); Gadag (B. K. Nos. 7 and 14 of 1926-27); Anjigere (B. K. No. 186 of 1928-29).

Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampi), the venue of the *Ānandanidhi-dāna*, mentioned in the following Kannaḍa preamble of the Gadag version.¹

Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrī-pṛithvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Virapratāpa Achyutarāya-Mahārāyaru Viṣayanagarīya neleviḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathāvinōdadiṁ rājyam-geyyuttam-iḷdu Śaka 1461 (etc.) puṇya-kālaḷoḷu Bhāskara-kshētra Tuṅgabhadrā-tira Viṭṭhalēśvarana sannidhiyalli Mādhava-prītyarthav-āgi Ānandanidhiy-emba dānavanu koṭṭu samasta-bhūsuraranu santōsha-baḍisida² praśastiyanu Saṁskṛita-bhāṣā-kavitadalli Śārdūlavikrīḍitav-emba vṛittaṅgaḷanu Gadagina śrī-Triyambakadēvara sannidhānadalli śilā-śāsanakke barasida dharmma-kīrttiya praśastiya vṛittaṅgaḷa kramav-entendoḍe || (The two Sanskrit verses follow).

From this it is also clear that *Ānandanidhi* is the name of a particular kind of *dāna* and that it was performed in the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra to propitiate god Mādhava and that these laudatory verses were engraved also in the temple of Triyambakadēva at Gadag.³ The inscriptions engraved at Srirangapatna and other places must have also been of this nature. According to Hēmādri, who describes this gift in some detail in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*⁴, the *Ānandanidhi-dāna* consists of presenting to learned Brāhmins, after some ceremonial preliminaries, pots made of the *udumbara* wood (*audumbaram ghaṭam*) and filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper. The days prescribed⁵ for the performance of this *dāna* are days in the months of Kārttika, Māgha and Mādhava (Vaiśākha), days of Ayana, Vishu, Manvādi and Yugaḍi, and days of the lunar and solar eclipses; and the merit accruing from this ceremony is said to be longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty.⁶ It is no wonder therefore that king Achyuta selected this *Ānanda-*

¹ No. 7 of the Bombay-Karnatak Epigraphical Collection for 1926-27.

² Compare *dvijān Dhanadayann-āmōdayan=Mādhavam* of the verse.

³ A similar preamble found in the Anpigeru copy states that the verses were engraved in the Ampitēśvara temple at that place under similar circumstances; while the Dāvanagere copy has simply the following sentence:—‘Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēśvara-śrī-Virapratāpa-śrī-Achyutadēva-Mahārāya-kṛta-Mahānandanidhi-praśasti-padya-dvayaṁ likhyatē’.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 34, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, pp. 583-588; and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 119.

⁵ कारयेत्कारिकान्ते वा माघ्या माघवेपि वा ।

अथने विषुवे वापि मन्वादिषु युगादिषु ॥

चन्द्रसूर्योपरागि वा स्वशक्तीर्द्वन्द्वच्छटम् ।

पिधानं राजतं तद्वन्मन्त्रे सौवर्णमुत्कृजत् ॥

नानारत्नवरापूर्णे नानानानाभिरावृतम् ।

द्वेमराजतताम्रोल्लेः सविचैरपि पूरितम् ॥

⁶ तदाखिलमहीराज्यं प्राप्नोति व्रतसंज्ञके ।

नित्यानन्दनिषेदानाभिल्यानन्दोभिजायते ।

यः कुर्यात् सौच्यताशुःखाद्दीर्घसन्तानमाप्नुयात् ॥

nidhi-dāna for celebration to ensure succession to his son, though unfortunately the actual results completely falsified his expectations.

The final sentence in Tamil states that these verses which were forwarded¹ (*varakkāṭṭi-arulā*) by the king (*svāmi*), were arranged to be engraved during the regime (*adhikārattil*) of **Śrī-raṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate (*pādasāra-paṇṇam*) of king Achyuta, who was probably wielding some authority in the Tiruchchirāppalli region. He figures in another record² from Śrīraṅgam dated in Śaka 1460, wherein he is described as the son of 'Madura(Maruda)-arasar-paḍaiviṭṭu Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka'. In Śaka 1458, the same officer is stated to have provided for offerings and worship to god Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirupati³, for the merit of Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, his queen Varadāji-Ammaṇ and prince Chikka-Veṅkaṭātri-Uḍaiyar.

Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ, the temple-accountant, has affixed his signature at the end, in attestation of the fact that the inscription was engraved in the temple with his full cognisance. This name or rather title was borne by all the accountants of the Śrīraṅgam temple in succession, having been bestowed, it is said,⁴ from the time of Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa alias Kūra-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar, the author of the *Sudarśanaśatakam*, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅgam temple for a long time.

TEXT.

- 1 Śubham⁵=astu [||*] Svasti śrī [||*] **Śākābdam 1461** idaṇmēl śellāniṇṇa Vikāri-samvatsarattu Bhādrapada-māsattu pūrva-pakṣhattu duvādaśiyum Maṅgalavāramum peṇṇa Tiruvōṇa-nakṣatrattu ṇāl Śrīraṅga-Mahārājādhipā Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achchutarāya-Mahārāyar tulābhāra-mahādāṇam paṇṇi-arulṇār [||*] idukku Mahārāyar-uḍaiya rājamaṇiśilp-ṇa **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇ-avargal** śloka-dravam śeydarulṇār [||*]
- 2 Inda dharmmam **Śrīraṅgādi**-puṇya(punya)-kṣhetraṁgaḷilē chandr-ādityavaraiyum prasiddham=āga naḍandāl **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāddirirāyar**=ruḷaiya santānattil uḷḷavargal sārvaḥhaumarāy prithuvī-rāyam paṇṇuvārgal eṇṇu Perumāl Śrīraṅganāthadēvar saṇṇadiyilē śilā-sāsanam paṇṇinapaḍi || Śākē chandra-ras-āmarēndra-gaṇitē varṣhē Vikāry-āhvayē pakṣhē Bhādrapadasya pōshita-vidhau dvādaśy-abhikhyē tithau [||*] vārē Bhūmisutasya Viśṇu-aḷḷipatai tārē=**chyuta**.
- 3 **kṣhmāpatir**=ddatv=Ānanta(da)nidhim⁶ dvijān [Dhanada]yann=āmōdayan=Mādhavam [||1||*] Puṇy-aughaiḷ paripālitasya paritō⁷ bhūt-āli-samvēṣṭitas=sadvarggaṣ=sabalīkṛitasya⁸ satat-ākṛāntā bhujaṅga-vrajaiḷ [||*] prāptasy-āti-nava-praśastim-aḷḷika-prakḷyāta-sauryy-Achyuta-kṣhmāp-Ānanta(da)nidhēr⁹=nav¹⁰ā=pi midhayal kin=tē labhantē tulām || [2*||] Śubham⁵=astu [||*]

¹ This implies that Achyutarāya was not present at Śrīraṅgam at the time of the record. As stated in another inscription (No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39), which reads 'Vijaya-samvatsarattu Āshāḍha bahuḷa dvādaśi-nāl Śrīraṅgattukku eḷundaruḷi,' the king was at Śrīraṅgam on July 18, A. D. 1533. This was later than the occasion when, according to the *Achchutarāyabhyudayam*, he stayed here for some time, while his brother-in-law Salakam Tirumala had led the expedition down south against the Tiruvaḍi king.

² No. 91 of 1938-39.

³ *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* (1930), p. 245.

⁴ *Kōyiloḷuḷu*, p. 72.

⁵ Many of the Sanskrit words in the Tamil portions are engraved in Grantha characters.

⁶ The other copies read *Ānandanidhim* and *Ānandanidhēr*.

⁷ Some of the other copies read *puratō*.

⁸ The other copies read *sva-vaśīkṛitasya* and this reading has been followed in the translation.

⁹ Read *nav*.

4 Inda suvāmi varakkāṭṭi-aruliṇa ślōkam iraṇḍum Achchuta(Achyuta)dēva-Mak(h)ārāyar-
uḍaiya pādasēvai pa[ṇ*]ṇum Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyakkar magan Śīraṅgappa-
Nāyakkar adikāratil śilā-śādanam paṇṇiṇa-paḍikku kōvil-kkaṇakku Śīraṅga-
Nārāyaṇapiriyaṇ eḷuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Be it well ! Hail ! Prosperity !

In the Śaka year 1461 (*expired*) corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, in the month of Bhādrapada, on Tuesday, which was a day of the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, with Śravaṇa-nakshatra—Mahārājādhirāja Rājaguru Śrī-Virapratāpa Śrī-Vīra-Achyutarāya-Mahārāya was pleased to perform the *tulābhāra-mahādāna* (*ceremony*). For (*i.e.*, in commemoration of) this,¹ the queen (*rājamahishī*) of the Mahārāya named Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargal was pleased to compose two (*Sanskrit*) ślōkas.

(Ll. 2-3) (*In the hope that*) if this *dharma*² is conducted well, as long as the moon and the sun, in holy places such as Śīraṅgam, Chikka-Veṅkaṭādrirāya's descendants will rule the earth as emperors (*sārabhaumas*), this epigraph was thus engraved in the shrine of god Śīraṅganātha.

In (*the*) Śaka (*year*) counted by *chandra* (1), *rasa* (6) and *amarēndra* (14), in the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, on the day of the *tithi* called *dvādaśī*, in the increasing fortnight of Bhādrapada, which was a Tuesday with the *nakshatra* presided over by Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, Śravaṇa) king Achyuta by bestowing (*gifts of*) *Ānandanidhi*³ made Brāhmins like Dhanada⁴ (Kubēra) and pleased (*god*) Mādhava.

Though (*themselves*) *nava* (nine)⁵ how can the *nidhis* (*of* Kubēra) attain equality with the *Ānandanidhi* of king Achyuta of renowned valour, which has earned *nava* (new)⁵ celebrity (*or eulogy*)—for, while the former are surrounded by hosts of demons and are seized by crowds of serpents, the latter is protected by meritorious deeds and is coveted (*only*) by the assemblage of the good ?

Be it well !

(L. 4) These two verses which were graciously sent by the *svāmi* (king), were engraved on stone during the regime of Ś[r*]īraṅgappa-Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka and a subordinate of Achyutadēva-Mahārāya,—in attestation whereof, this is the writing (*i.e.*, signature) of the temple-accountant Śīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapiriyaṇ.

¹ The word *idukku* is not appropriate, for the verses describe only the *Ānandanidhi*.

² There is some ambiguity here, for no *dharma* was actually made at Śīraṅgam on this occasion ; it appears to be a shortened form of the *dharma-kīrttiya prasthi* of the Gadag and Anṇigere versions.

³ The word *ananta-nidhi* means 'inexhaustible treasure', but the more technical 'Ānandanidhi' of Hēmādri appears to have been intended.

⁴ The idea in the first verse is that the Brāhman-recipients of the rich gifts of *Ānanda-nidhi* were made to resemble Dhanada (Kubēra), the possessor of the nine *nidhis* ; while the second verse says that king Achyuta's gifts, however, outvalued Kubēra's *nidhis*, for specified reasons.

⁵ A pun on *nava*=nine and *nava*=new.

No. 42.—LUCKNOW MUSEUM PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRADEVA : V. S. 1237.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUND.

The record edited below is found on a **single copper-plate** now preserved in the **Provincial Museum, Lucknow**. No information is available as to where it was discovered. According to the information kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, it was purchased at Lucknow from Messrs. Mata Prasad Sita Ram of Benares on the 12th October, 1935.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 7" × 1' 2". Its edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing. In the upper part of the plate there is a hole for the passing of the ring. Both the ring and the seal which was once affixed to the ring, are now missing. The plate contains 36 lines of writing, the letters being about $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in height. It weighs about 502½ *tolas*. A piece in the left hand corner at the bottom of the plate is broken and lost. This has caused damage to the last four lines in each of which five or six letters are lost at the beginning. One letter in l. 13 and two or three letters in ll. 16-17 are also partly damaged. But there is nothing in the plate which cannot be restored from the other known records of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj to which family the grant belongs.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. There are altogether 26 verses composed in different metres of which one is introductory in praise of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu found at the commencement of almost all the Gāhaḍavāla grants, 13 are devoted to the descriptions of the different rulers mentioned in the record and the last twelve are imprecatory and benedictory verses. With the exception of these verses the rest of the record is in prose.

The inscription has been carefully written and in respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) *B* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *babhrāmur*= in l. 8, e.g. *vāhuvalli-vamdh*° (l. 7), *āmru* (l. 8), *Vali* (l. 10), *vahala* (l. 14), etc. (2) Combinations of consonants and nasals have been represented by both *anuvāra* and a nasal of the same class without any discrimination, e.g. *akunṭhōtkanṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), *-Īndra*° (l. 4), *=ānikitā* (l. 5), *kumbhi*, *maṇḍala* (l. 6), *=ānumantā* (l. 29), etc., as against *sahrambhah* (l. 1), *Mahichandra* (l. 3), *maṇḍalō* (l. 3), *sāmdr-* (l. 7), *Gōvīmdachandra* (l. 8), *-īndra* (l. 11), *mantri* (l. 20), etc. (3) A consonant in conjunction with a subscript *r* has never been doubled but one following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g. *dōrvikramēn=ārjjitam* (l. 4), *kīrtti*, *varṇṇita* (l. 10), *avatirṇṇa* (l. 12), etc., the few exceptions being *jayārtham*, *-ārthinī* (l. 11), *nirjhara* (l. 14), etc. (4) *S* has been wrongly used for *ś* in *anisam* (l. 4), *śatasas*= (l. 5), *vasūd*= (l. 7), *rāsēh* (l. 8), etc., and *ś* for *s* in *-ōllasitaiḥ* (l. 5), *-āśrig-*, *udbhāśitaiḥ* (l. 7), *tiṣṭishu* (l. 8), *yaśāmsi* (l. 11), *sahasram* (l. 13), etc. (5) Final *m* is found only in *phalam* (l. 30), *anuvāra* being used in other places. (6) For want of sufficient space in a particular line when a part of a word had to be engraved in the next, sometimes one or two vertical strokes have been used at the end of the former to show the continuity, cf., for example the ends of ll. 21 and 33. The record contains a few other mistakes which have been corrected either in the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The donor of the grant is the *Paramvibhaktāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara Jayachchandrādēva*, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj and Benares, of whom we have already sixteen records¹ dating from V. S. 1226 to V. S. 1245 (A. D. 1170-89). The present record does not contain any new information with the exception of what is imparted by the grant portion. The genealogy of the donor is given in verses 2-12 and once again in ll. 14-18 where the names of the first two members of the family are omitted. The list begins, as in the other

¹ See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 536-41.

records of this family, with **Yaśōvighraha** (v. 2) whose son was **Mahīchandra** (v. 3). The latter's son was the P. M. P. **Chandradēva**, who is stated to have acquired the kingdom of **Kanyakubja** by the prowess of his arm. He is also said to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* at **Kāśī**, **Kuśika**, **Uttarakōśala** and **Indrasthāna** (*i.e.*, Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayōdhyā and probably Indraprastha or Delhi)¹ after he had acquired them,' and bestowed to Brahmins his weight in gold in hundreds. His successor was his son the P. M. P. **Madanapāla** and his son was the P. M. P. **Gōvindachandra** who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (v. 8). Commenting on this verse Kielhorn observed: "Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning."² But as this verse is found in the Kamauli Plate of V. S. 1171,³ the earliest known record of this ruler and which is separated by only five years from the last known record of his father Madanapāla,⁴ it is probable that *nava-rājya* in the verse refers to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra newly succeeded. It was also this ruler who for the first time assumed the *birudas āsvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*, originally used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī, the use of which was continued by all his successors. It is significant that these epithets appear for the first time in the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of V. S. 1177⁵ which records the transfer by Gōvindachandra to one Ṭhakkura Vasishṭha of the village Karaṇḍa in the *Antarāla-pattalā* which was originally granted to the *Rājaguru* Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri) Yaśaḥkarṇa. As these are not found even in the two grants⁶ of Gōvindachandra issued in V. S. 1176 it is obvious that shortly before the issue of the grant of V. S. 1177 the Gāhaḍavāla ruler wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśaḥkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by the Kalachuri kings. Gōvindachandra's son was the P. M. P. **Vijayachandra** whose son was the P. M. P. **Jayachchandra**. Vijayachandra is stated to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing*) from the clouds in shape of the eyes of the wives of **Hammīra**, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth" (v. 10). There is little doubt that this passage contains a reference to some historical incident not known from other sources. As this event is referred to in the Kamauli Plate of Vijayachandra of V. S. 1224,⁷ the earliest record known of this ruler, it must have taken place between this date and V. S. 1211, the last known date of his father Gōvindachandra, *i.e.* between A. D. 1154 and A. D. 1167. It is, however, difficult to identify definitely this Hammīra. The earliest numismatic reference to this title is found on the coins of Muhammad bin Sām otherwise known as Muhammad Ghūri, whose invasion of India did not take place till a later period. Probably Hammīra was a popular designation for the Muslim chiefs in India, and therefore Dr. H. C. Ray⁸ may not be wrong in identifying Hammīra of these records with Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah (1160-1186), the last prince of the Yamīnī dynasty, who was noted for his weakness as a ruler⁹ and who might have suffered a defeat at the hands of this Gāhaḍavāla ruler.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, n. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 102 and n. 3.

⁴ *Viz.*, the Rāhan Plate of V. S. 1166 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 15 ff.).

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 109 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

⁸ *Dynastic History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 535-36. See also *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 37.

⁹ Major Raverty notices two coins, one of Khusrav Malik and another of his father Khusrav Shāh, but the legends on them give them the titles of Sultān and Bādshāh respectively. See *Tabaquāt-i-Nāsiri*, Transl. (Bibl. Ind.), footnote under p. 114.

The **date** of the record is given both in words and in decimal figures in ll. 22-23 as Sunday, the 7th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the (Vikrama) Samvat 1237, when the sun had entered the Mīna (sign of the zodiac) and regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd February, A.D. 1181.

The object of the grant is to record the gift of the village **Marṇḍara** with **Kaḍāhī**¹ in the **Dēhaduāra-pattalā** by Jayachchandraḍēva. The recipient of the gift, which was made by the ruler after bathing in the Ganges at **Vārāṇasī** and performing other ceremonies connected with it, was the Brahmin Paṇḍit **Brahmaśarman** of the **Vatsa-gōtra** and the five *pravaras*, **Bhārggava**, **Chyavana**, **Apnavāna**, **Aurva** and **Jāmadagnya**. He was a son of the Paṇḍit **Gōtrānanda** and grandson of the Paṇḍit **Sarvvānanda**. In l. 27 of the record, among the taxes to be paid to the donee, is found the phrase *yamali-kāmali* which is found also in some other records of this ruler in a slightly different form.² Its meaning, however, is not clear.

The writer of the plate was the *Mahākṣhapatāhika* Thakkura Śrīpati who figures as the writer of most of the copper-plate grants of Jayachandradēva.

I am unable to identify the gift village and the *pattalā* in which it was situated.

TEXT.³

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, 15-23, *Anushtubh* ; vv. 2, 26, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 4, 7, 13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 25, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 9, *Drutavilambita* ; v. 10, *Mālinī* ; v. 14, *Sragdharā* ; v. 24, *Śālinī*.]

- 1 Om* svasti || Akun̄ṭhōkṣan̄ṭha-Vaikun̄ṭha-kāṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karāḥ | samrām̄bhāḥ surat-
ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1|*] Āśi(-)d-Āsi(śi)padyuti-[varisā-jūta-kṣmā-
pāla-[mālāsū]
- 2 divam̄ gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśovigraha** ity=udārāḥ ||
[2|*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahī-charṇ**-dras̄-chandrah | Tasmā=ibhaṁ nijam̄(jam) | yēn=āpāram=
akūpāra-pār[ē vyāpā]-
- 3 ritam̄ yaśāḥ || [3|*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasikāḥ krānta-dvishan-mam̄dalō vi-
dhvast-ōddhata-dhira-yōdha-timirāḥ śrī-**Charṇdradāvō** nrīpaḥ | yēn-ōdāratera-pratāpa-
samit-āścsha-praj-ōpadrava[m̄]
- 4 śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājyam=asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēp=ārijjitam̄(tam) || [4|*] Tirthāni
Kāsi-Kusik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni paripālayat=adbīgama(mya) | hēm=
ātma-tulyam=anisam̄(sam) dadatā dvij[ē]-
- 5 bhyō yēn=āñkitā vasumatī śatasā(sa)s=tulābbhiḥ || [5|*] Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti
kshitindra-chūdāmanir=vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chandrāḥ | yasy-abhisheka-kaleś-ōllāśi(si)-
taiḥ payōbbhiḥ prakṣhā-
- 6 litam̄ kali-rajaḥ-pāṭalam̄ dharitryāḥ || [6|*] Tasy=āsīt-vijaya-pravāna-samayē tuṅg-āchal-
ōchchaīs-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhra[śjyan-mahī-maṇḍalē |
chūdāratna-vibhina(nna)-tālu-ga-
- 7 lita-styān-āsri(sri)g-udbhāśi(si)tah̄ Sēsah̄ pēsha-vasā(śā)d=iva kṣhaṇam=asau krōḍē nilin-
ānanah̄ || [7|*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-āpāra-vān-vān(ban̄dī-āvaudīa-nava-
rāja-gajō narēndrah | sām̄dr-amri-

¹ Probably Kadāhī was a *pātaka* attached to the village of Mandara.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 137 ff. (Nos. H, I, J and K) and above, Vol. IV, p. 129.

³ From an impression which I owe to the courtesy of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

- 8 ta-drava-muchām prabhavō gavām yō **Gōvīṃdacham̐dra** iti cham̐dra iv=āmvu(mbu)-rās(ś)ēḥ || [8||*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāms=tiś(s)riṣhu dikshu gajān=atha vajriṇa[h] ||(l) kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabhaḥ(bha)-
- 9 pratibhātā iva yasva(sya) ghatā-gajāḥ || [9||*] Ajani **Vijayacham̐drō** nāma tasmān=[na]-rēndraḥ Surapatir=iva bhūbhṛit-paksha-vichchhēda-dakshaḥ | bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-har-mmya-**Ham̐mīrha(ra)**-nārī-nayana-jala-¹
- 10 da-dhārā-dhauta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || [10||*] Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēli-viśṛīṃkhalāni prakhyāta-kīrtti-kavi-varṇita-vaibhavāni | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāmji bhānti prōjja-(jṛim)bhayanti Va(Ba)li-
- 11 rāja-bhayaṃ yaśānśi(si) || [11||*] Yasmimś=chalaty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayārthaṃ mādyatkar-iṃdra-guru-bhāra-nipīdit=ēva | yāti Prajāpati-padam sa(sa)raṇ-ārthini bhūs=tvāṅgat-turaṅga-nivah-ōttha-rajaś-chhalēna || [12||*]
- 12 Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jaya[ch*]cham̐dr**-ābhidhānaḥ patir=bhūpānām=avati-rṇṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ | dvaidhībhāvam=apāsya vighraha-ruchim dhik-kṛitya sā(śā)nt-āsa(sa)yāḥ sēvantē yam=udagra-
- 13 varṇ(baṃ)dhana-bhaya-dhvaṃs-ārthinaḥ pārthivāḥ || [13||*] Gachchēn=mūrchchhām=atuchchhām na yadi kavalay[ē]t=kūrmma-prishth-ābhigāta-pratyāvṛitta-śram-ārttō namad-akhila-phana-sv(sv)āsa-vā[tyā]²-sahaśram(sram) | udyōgē yasya dhāva-
- 14 d-dharanidhara-dhunī-nirjhara-sphāra-dhāra-bhraśyad-dāna-dvip-āli-va(ba)hala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudraḥ phanīndraḥ || [14||*] Sō=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṃsēvita-charanaḥ [*] Sa cha Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-
- 15 dhirāja-Paramēśva(śva)ra-Paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śrī-**Kanyakuvj(bj)**-ādhipati-(tya)-śrī-**Cham̐dradēva**-pādā[n]udhyāta-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Ma**-
- 16 **da[napā]ladēva**-pādānudhyāta - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara - Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā - vichāra - Vāchas-pati-
- 17 śrī-**Gōvīm[dacharīdradēva** - pādānudhyāta - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati - rājatray - ādhipati - vividha - vidyā-vichāra-Vā-
- 18 chaspati - śrī - **Vijayacham̐dradēva** - pādānudhyāta - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati - gajapati - narapati - rājatray - ādhipati - vividha-vidyā-vichā-
- 19 ra-Vāchaspati-śrīmaj-**Jayacham̐dradēvō** vijayī || **Dēhaduāra**-pattalāyām | **Kaḍāhī-saha-Mam̐darā**-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-
- 20 mārītri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhām̐dāgarīk-ākshapaṭalika - bhishag - naimittik - āntaḥ-purika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattanākarasthāna-gōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpaya-
- 21 ti vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīśati cha ||[*] Veditam=astu bhavatām yath-ōparīlikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gabana-nidhānaḥ sa-³
- 22 ma[dhuk-ā]mra-vana-vātikā-viṭapa-triṇa - yūti - gōchara - paryantaḥ s - ōrddh[v*] - ādha[s*]=chatur-āghāta-visu(su)ddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ **śa(sa)pta-[trīm]sa(śa)d-adhika-dvā-dasa(śa)-śata-samvatsarē Phālgunē māsi**⁴

¹ There are two *danḍas* here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

² This letter is damaged.

³ There is a mark here to show that the phrase is continued in the next line.

⁴ There is a superfluous *danḍa* here.

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- 3 śukla-pakshē saptamyān=tithau Ravi-dinē aṅkatō=pi samvat 1237 Phālguna-
sudi 7 Ravau Mīna-gatē savitari | ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām snātvā
vidhivan=mantra-dēva-mū(mu)ni-
- 4 manuja-bhūta-pitrīgaṇāns=tarppayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushṇarōchisham
=upasthāy=Ō(Au)shadhipati-sakala-śēkharam samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur=bhaga-
vatō Vāsudēva-
- 5 sya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujam hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=
cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayē asmābhir=ggōkarṇṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūr-
vvakam Vatsa.¹
- 16 gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṁcha-pravarāya paṁ-
ḍita-śrī-Sarvvānanda-pautrāya paṁḍita-śrī-Gōtrānanda-putrāya paṁḍita-śrī-Vra(Bra)-
hmaśarmmaṇ[ē] vrā(brā)hmaṇāya chaṁdr-ā-
- 27 rk[kam] yāvach=chhāsānikṛitya pradattō matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇi-
kara-yamali-kāmali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsya-
- 28 th=ēti || || Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim praya-
chchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇāu niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [15||*] Saṁ(Saṁ)-
kham bhadr-āsanaṁ chchhatraṁ var-āśvā va-
- 29 ra-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasva(sya) chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [16||*] Shasṭi[m]
varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
narakē vasēt || [17||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-
- 30 sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam
|| [18||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=
bhūtvā pītri-
- 31 bhiḥ saha majjati || [19||*] Vāri-hin[ē]shv=aranyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-
sarppās=cha jāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāriṇaḥ || [20||*] Na visham visham=ity=āhur=
vra(bra)hma-svaṁ visham=uchyatē | visha-
- 32 m=ē[kā]kinam hanti vra(bra)hma-svaṁ putra-pautrikam(kam) || [21||*] Taḍāgānām sabaśrē-
(srē)ṇa Vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyaṭi || [22||*]
Asmad-vaṁsa(śē) parikshīṇē yaḥ ka.²
- 33 [ś=chin=nripatir=bha*]*vēt | tasy=āham kara-lagnō=smi śāsanaṁ na vyatikramēn(t) || [23||*]
Sarvvān=ētāna(n)=bhāvinah pāṛthiva(v-ē)ndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ |
sāmānyō=yam dha.²
- 34 [rmma-sētur=nripā*]*ṇām kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ || [24||*] Vāt-ābhra-vibhramva(ma)-
m=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-mātra-madhurā vishay-ōpabhōgāḥ | prānās=trīṇ-
āgra-jala-vim-
- 35 [du-samā narānām*]* dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [25||*] Yān=iha dattāni
purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō |⁴
- 36 [nāma sādhuḥ puna*]*r=ādāḍita || [26||*] Likhitaṁ ch=ēdam tām[ra]-paṭṭakam mahāksha-
paṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhir=iti ||

¹ There is a superfluous *danḍa* here.² There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.³ The portion within square brackets is lost.⁴ *Danḍa* superfluous.

No. 43.—VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates containing the grant were brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramakoteswara Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, "*Triveni*", Madras, and placed by him in my hands for examination in September 1933. He informed me that they had originally been lent to him by Sri (now Hon'ble) Bezwada Gopala Reddi, Minister for Local Self-Government to the Government of Madras. In reply to my enquiry regarding the history of the discovery of the set Sri Reddigaru informed me that it was discovered at **Vavvēru**, a village one and a half miles to the west of his native village Buchchireddipālem in the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District, Madras Presidency. The plates were originally unearthed by Satyavēlu Rāmi Redḍi of the former village some time about the year 1928 while digging *pāṭimatti* (i.e., earth in the old village-site) at about eight feet below the surface level. Some earthen pots are also reported to have been found along with the plates but as they were broken, they were not preserved. The plates were subsequently purchased by me for the Government Museum, Madras, and are now deposited there.

This inscription has been noticed by me in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 as No. 1 of App. A and its contents are briefly reviewed in Part II (p. 30) of the same report.

The set consists of **five plates**, four of which measure 9 inches while the fifth measures only $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and all of them measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width. They are held together by a circular ring of the same metal measuring about $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole, measuring $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, near the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal measuring roughly one inch in diameter. On its plain surface the seal bears the relief of a couchant bull facing the proper left and seated on a stand which is indicated by a thin horizontal line in relief. Above the bull is a relief carving of a wavy line which may represent the sea, and above it is the figure of what appears to be an anchor. The latter seems to be tied on to what looks like a post on the right hand side.

The first and the last plates are inscribed on one side only, while the rest bear writing on both the sides. The ring had been cut and soldered in one place and cut in another place before the plates reached me. There is, however, no report of impressions of the plates having been taken before.¹ The plates with the ring and seal weigh 121 *tolas*.

The outstanding feature of the document is its elegant execution. The composition is also carefully done observing the rules of *sandhi* in almost all cases.

The **script** of the plates closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli grant of the same king. Most of the letters in both the grants are **box-headed**,² which is a somewhat rare feature in South Indian epigraphs. For example this characteristic is not noticed in the Māṅgaḷūr grant of this king wherein the top-strokes (*talakattu*) of letters are rather thick but not box-shaped.

In our grant some letters are arrow- or nail-headed as they are sometimes called (e.g., *ka*, *cha*, *ra*, *va*, and *bha*, in lines 3 ff.). Another point to be noticed is that while the plates of the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḷūr and Pikira grants are numbered in numerical figures cut on their proper right...

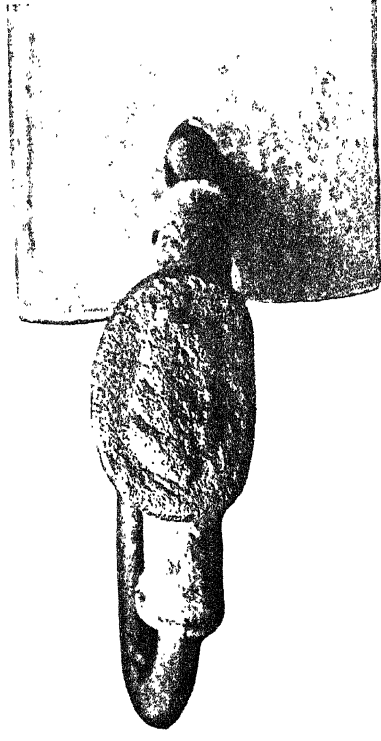
¹ I understand that Mr. M. S. Sarma of the *Bhārati* Office, Madras, examined the document before he sent them to me at Mr. Ramakoteswara Rao's instance.

² Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate opposite page 50.

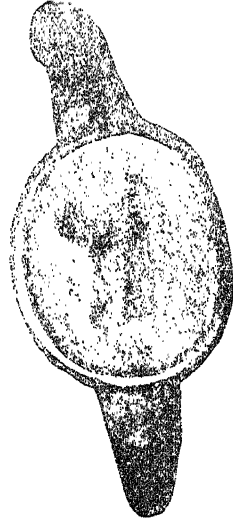
A. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.)



B. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137ff.)



C. Pikira Grant of Simhavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 159ff.)



margins, the plates under examination are not numbered so. A third noteworthy point is that while all the known grants of the king begin with the invocation *Jitam Bhagavatā* preceded, in two cases (Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkīra grants), by a spiral which has been rendered by Hultzsch as *Om*¹, our grant commences with the expression *Seasti* like the two other known Pallava records, viz., the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman² and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.³

The emblem on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant was originally made out by Dr. Fleet to be a 'dog',⁴ but from deference to native opinion he later accepted it to be a 'lion'. The illustration accompanying the facsimiles of the grant suggests a wild animal like a dog or a wolf, sitting on its four legs and about to pounce. The short tail of the animal precludes its being taken for a lion which must conventionally have a long and curling tail.

The seal of the Māṅgaḷūr grant⁵ is not described or depicted but the animal on that of the Pīkīra grant⁶ appears from the description given by Venkayya to resemble the one on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant. Unfortunately the Ōṃgōḍu grant carries no seal and consequently the seal of the present set gains importance as being the only well-preserved one of this king known so far. The animal here is clearly a **bull**, with a prominent hump, seated facing the proper left, and having a pretty heavy dew-lap. Above the bull appears to be what looks like an anchor as already stated or, a boat as assumed by me in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934 (p. 30, para. 4). Attention may be drawn here to a Pallava coin bearing the effigy of a bull on one side and that of a double-masted boat on the other, illustrated by Sir W. Elliot.⁷

In the seal of the Prākṛit charter issued by Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī, the animal had been originally taken⁸ to be a deer but a closer examination would reveal it to be a standing bull facing the proper right, the hump rather indistinct. The view taken by me on the first examination of Fleet's facsimile is confirmed by an examination of the better illustration of the seal which appears in the plate published by Dr. Hultzsch.⁹

A few important **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed here. The long *ī* attached to the consonants is distinguished by an inward curl. While in some other records of this king the word *jitam* in the invocation *Jitam=Bhagavatā* is written with a final *m* conjoined with the succeeding letter *bha*, here it is incised with an *anusvāra* as in the Uruvupalli and the Ōṃgōḍu grants. But the conjunct letter is employed in *Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya* in l. 6 and in *°yājīnām=Pallavānām=Mahārājah* in l. 13. The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal: *kshētrañ=cha* in l. 14, *sārīraṇ=daṇḍam* in l. 22, *paraṇ=dānam* in l. 23, *ghōraṇ=na* in l. 24, etc. Consonants following *r* are invariably doubled as in all early grants, and as in some other earlier ones the consonants preceding *r* are also doubled as for example in *parākkramō* in l. 10. The forms *pādā-nuddhyātō* in l. 11 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in l. 14 may also be noticed. Above all, the employment of the Tamiḷ letter for *ḷa* in *Vilavattī* (l. 13) is noteworthy and indicates the influence of Tamiḷ on the composer of this grant though it originated in and related to the Telugu country.

The epithet *vaṭṭa* in the expression *vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḷ* (l. 21) meaning the officers of the grouped villages also suggests the influence of Tamiḷ. I understand that in Mahārāshṭra and Hyderābād the expression *vaṭṭam-jāghirdār* is in vogue.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, Text.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 251 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 154.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁷ *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, No. 38.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

Several wrong forms, evidently due to oversight, are noticeable : e.g., *grama* for *grāma* and *grāka* for *grāsaka* in l. 15, *sumukhājñāptyā* for *svamukhā°* in l. 30 and *vasundhārā* for *vasundharā* in l. 25. The expression *kshētram* in l. 14 appears to be used in the sense of a 'department' or 'committee' in charge of the village. We may compare in this connection the expression *Ōṃgōḍu-grāmas=cha vaktavyāḥ* used in the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman.¹

The grant was issued from **Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishṭhāna** by **Mahārāja śrī-Simhavarman**, son of Yuvamahārāja śrī-**Vishṇugōpa**, grandson of śrī-**Skandavarman** and great grandson of śrī-**Viravarman**, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* and the family of the **Pallavas** that had performed several *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. It registers the gift of the village **Viḷavaṭṭi** in **Muṇḍa-rāshṭra** together with its hamlet (*sā-grāsakaḥ*), with the several taxes (specified below) which were the property of the king, to (the Brāhman) Vishṇusarman of the Gautama-*gōtra* and the Chhandōga(-*śākhā*).

The inscription is **dated** in the tenth year of the king's increasingly victorious reign (*samā-dhamāna-vijaya-rājya*), on the fifth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa (*Śrāvanyām*).

The **main interest of the record** is in the enumeration of the several taxes which the king was entitled to collect from the village and which are now given away by him. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* (*aṣṭādaśa-jātībhiḥ parihāraiḥ*) mentioned but not enumerated in the Uruvupalli grant. As regards the taxes the king's command runs thus :—"whichever taxes are payable in this village by metal-workers and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakāra*), the shop-keeping cloth-dealers (*āpaṇa-paṭṭa-kāra*), licensed spies (?) going about in loose masks or garments (*prāvārañchara*)², rope-jugglers or dancers (*rajjupratihāra*), shops (in general) (*āpaṇa*)³, Ājīvikas (a class of Jaina mendicants), the taxes payable by barbarians and outcastes (*nāhala*), *mukhadharakas*⁴ (mask-actors), water-diviners (*kūpa-darśakas*)⁵, weavers (*tantravāya*), taxes on gambling (*dyūta*), marriage (*vivāha*) and barbers (*nāpita*), and the taxes or tithes payable by the artisans enjoying the privileges of *sarvaparihāra* (?) and such other taxes that belong to me, have been given to this (Brāhman) as *brahmaḍēya*. The officers of the *vaṭṭa-grāmas*⁶ shall accordingly do my bidding. Others shall (duly) render and cause the dues to be rendered unto the donee. Whoever transgresses this charter of mine, that sinner will undergo corporal punishment." The order for the gift was issued orally by the king and committed to writing by the Private Secretary (*Rahasyādhikṛita*) **Achyuta**.

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 251, Text, l. 10.

² These probably represent the begging *buḍu-bukkis* who go about in loose and heavy garments.

³ If *rajjupratihār-āpaṇa* be construed as one compound, it would indicate 'booths of rope-jugglers or dancers'.

⁴ Alternatively we might understand this expression to refer to a particular class of self-mortifying devotees known as *mukhēnādāyīn*.

⁵ [Many of the terms in ll. 18-19 are met with here for the first time and are difficult to explain. It appears to me that tax levied for the maintenance of certain offices is indicated in l. 18. Accordingly, I would prefer to take *paṭṭakāra* not in the sense of 'silk-weaver' but in that of *paṭṭalēkhin* or writer of official documents. *Prāvārañchara* is probably the same as *Sañcharantaka* of the Uruvupalli grant and *Sañchārīn* of other early records. I am not certain whether *rajjū* is to be taken separately or to be compounded with the preceding or succeeding word. *Rajju* and *chōrarajju* are found in the *Arthaśāstra* as fiscal terms. *Rajjuka* as an official designation occurs not only in the edicts of Aśoka but also in such later records as belonging to the Āndhra and Vākāṭaka rulers (see above, p. 54). *Āpaṇ-ājīvika* has probably to be taken as one word meaning 'those who live by shops', i.e., shop-keepers in general as distinguished from smiths and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakār-āpaṇa*). *Kūpa-darśaka* may be 'an inspector of wells'.—Ed.]

⁶ If *vaṭṭa* is a Prākṛit form of *vaṇṭa* the expression would mean *bhāga-grāmēyakas*, i.e., officers of the subsidiary villages. Cf. also the Telugu expression *Onṭudāru*.

The epithets and eulogies applied in our grant to the several kings are almost the same as those found in the allied grants, *viz.*, the Uruvupalli, Pikira and Ōṃgōḍu ones with slight interchanges. The phraseology of the Māṅgaḷūr grant is quite distinct from that of the other charters of the king, and its author Nēmi seems to have composed it in an almost independent and original style of his own without borrowing from any of the other grants of the family. The practice in the plates appears to have been to apply a particular set of attributes to the particular generation irrespective of the actual king concerned. If we compare the text of the Uruvupalli grant with the rest we find that the same set of epithets is applied in all to the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father of the king and the king of the grant, irrespective of any particular king. Thus, epithets applied to Skandavarman I, the first member in the Uruvupalli grant, are applied to Viravarman, the first member in the other grants. But the epithets *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* or *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* is applied consistently in all to king Viravarman and this one appears to have been particularly his personal attribute. Skandavarman I, his son Viravarman and the latter's son Skandavarman II of the Uruvupalli grant are mentioned in the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II but with quite a different set of attributes. Viravarman is not therein called the sole hero of the world. Some other epithets of the later grants are traceable in the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant, *viz.*, *anēka-samara-labdhā-vijaya-yaśaḥ-pratāpa*¹ (for *prakāśa* of later grants) and *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalāḥ*,² which are applied to Viravarman. It therefore appears that the ornate eulogy of the several kings was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of Vishṇugōpa and uniformly adopted in all the known grants of his son Simhavarman except in the Māṅgaḷūr grant as already remarked.

In connection with this and the allied grants there exists what we may call the "Simhavarman problem." Dr. Fleet assigned the Uruvupalli plates to Simhavarman, a supposed elder brother of Vishṇugōpa³ and made him Simhavarman I of the dynasty. Dr. Hultzsch, while editing the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, has attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming the non-existence of an elder brother of Vishṇugōpa by name Simhavarman and the passing of the succession from Skandavarman II to Simhavarman without Vishṇugōpa ever having ascended the throne, on the ground that he is entitled only *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*.⁴ If Vishṇugōpa did not succeed to the throne there is no meaning in saying that he 'made a gift' as the Uruvupalli charter states. I think there is not much justification for Dr. Hultzsch's supposition. The assumption of the title *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which appears to have been due to some dynastic convention or exigency does not by itself deny accession to Vishṇugōpa as it did not in the case of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.⁵ The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Professor Dubreuil who has made a special study of the Pallava dynasty accepts that Vishṇugōpa did rule,⁶ but follows Dr. Fleet in assuming a Simhavarman as the elder brother of Vishṇugōpa. Hultzsch and Dubreuil are partially right and partially wrong. We need not either suppose with the former that Vishṇugōpa did not ascend the throne or agree with the latter and Dr. Fleet that he had an elder brother named Simhavarman. I would suggest that the difficulty can be solved by supposing that the Uruvupalli grant originally made by Vishṇugōpa was, for some reasons not known, formally issued by his son Simhavarman

¹ In the Uruvupalli and other plates this epithet is applied to Viravarman's grandson Vishṇugōpa.

² In the Uruvupalli plates this epithet is given to Viravarman, but in the other grants of Simhavarman, to his son Skandavarman II. The eulogies applied to the several generations of kings in the Uruvupalli plates are indifferently applied to the kings figuring in the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 and 154.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁵ See my remarks in the article on the Churā grant of Vijaya-Vishṇugōpavarman, above, p. 139.

⁶ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 63.

in the eleventh year of the latter's reign.¹ The Pallava genealogy for this period would therefore stand thus :—

Kumāravishṇu I.
|
Skandavarman I.
|
Viravarman *s. a.* Virakōrchavarman.
|
Skandavarman II.
|
Vishṇugōpa II.
|
Simhavarman.
|
Vijaya-Vishṇugōpa III.

Dubreuil² supposes that Skandavarman of the Chendalūr plates was the father of Kumāravishṇu I of the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant. On the other hand it would be reasonable to identify him with Skandavarman II, son of Viravarman, and grandson of Skandavarman I, because of the epithets applied to him which are mostly the same as those given to him in the Pīkira and Ōṃgōḍu grants and our present grant, though epithets alone are not sufficient for the identification of kings as the same epithets are applied to different kings, as pointed out by me above. If, however, my identification is correct, we may have, for this period, a tentative genealogy as follows :—

Kumāravishṇu I.	
Skandavarman I.	
Kumāravishṇu II. Buddhavarman Kumāravishṇu III of the Chendalūr plates.	Viravarman. Skandavarman II. Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa. Simhavarman.

This arrangement would not only suit Dr. Hultzsch's argument about the later nature of the characters of the Chendalūr plates but also we have a clue herein to suppose that the first Kumāravishṇu of these plates was probably named after his grandfather³ Kumāravishṇu of the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant. This would also remove the inconsistency in Prof. Dubreuil's scheme which, while suggesting a palaeographical resemblance⁴ between the Uruvupalli and the Chendalūr charters, places Kumāravishṇu II of the latter on a collateral plane with Viravarman, the grandfather of Vishṇugōpa and the great grandfather (according to Dr. Hultzsch) of Simhavarman of the former. With these arguments kept in our view we will have to designate Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the Chendalūr plates as Kumāravishṇu III. His father Buddhavarman is stated in the Velūrpālaiyam plates, to have conquered the Chōḷas⁵ while his grandfather Kumāravishṇu had

¹ [The conjecture seems to be rather far-fetched. On the other hand the position of Vishṇugōpa seems to have been such that he was not able to issue any document in his own name.—Ed.]

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 66ff.

³ The genealogical table given on p. 503 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, drawn up before the discovery of the Ōṃgōḍu grants, requires modification.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 502.

captured (preferably re-captured) Kāñchī which had been the Pallava capital in the earlier generations. With sufficient reason are the Chendalūr plates issued from Kāñchīpura and the donee is, very naturally, a native of a village in its vicinity, the name of which though not read by Dr. Hultzsch, may, I think, be safely read as Pullalūru¹ and identified with the village of that name situated 9 miles north of Conjeeveram.²

Discussing the initial date of Simhavarman Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Simhavarman II is to be accepted there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact".³ I regret, I have to differ from Mr. Sastri and point out that Dr. Schram's *Tables of the Eclipses of the Sun in India* record an eclipse on the 17th of May in A.D. 440. The month of Chaitra in certain years overlaps the month of May and definitely such is the case in the years in which there is an *Adhika* and a *Nija* Chaitra month. So it is quite possible to assume that in the Chaitra of A.D. 440 there was a solar eclipse. Consequently the assumption of A.D. 436 as the initial year for Simhavarman would be fully justifiable. So the date of our grant which is dated in the tenth year of his reign would correspond to A.D. 446.

Muṇḍa-rāshṭra is also mentioned in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants of Simhavarman.⁴ It is evidently identical with the later Muṇḍa-nāḍu or Muṇḍai-nāḍu of the *Nellore Inscriptions*.⁵ **Vilavaṭṭi**, the gift village may possibly be the village Vavvēru where the plates were discovered or with greater probability it may be the village Viḍavalūru, about 12 miles east of it. Both the villages are in the Kōvūr taluk. **Paddukkar-ādhishtāna** from which the charter was issued may be identified with the village Paḍugupāḍu about 9 miles south by east of Vavvēru in the same taluk. This is now a Railway station a little distance from the northern bank of the river Pennār on the Madras-Calcutta line and within a mile from Kōvūr.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti[*] Jitaṁ Bhagavatā [*] śrī-Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishtānē parama-brahma-
nyasya sva-bā-
- 2 hu-nirjīṭ-ārjīta-ṛkshātra-tapō-nidhāḥ vidhi-vihita-sarvva-⁸maryyādā-sthiti-sthita-
- 3 sy-āmit-ātmanō mahārājasya ⁹prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-Vīravarmmaṇaḥ prapau-
- 4 trasy-ātyuchchita¹⁰-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Bhaga-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 vad-bhakti-sad-bhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānai[h]
- 6 ¹¹pravṛtta-dharmma-saṅchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya¹²
mahā-

¹ The reading Puṭṭukākā given in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1421d, must be given up.

² Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 188.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. and above, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 and 163.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions* :—See *Nellore* 19, 31, 61, 71, 72 and 121. The villages mentioned in connection with this nāḍu would all point to the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District in which the present plates were discovered. The southern portion of the Kandukūr taluk also would go into this rāshṭra.

⁶ From the original plates and ink-impressions prepared in my office.

⁷ Read -bal-ārjīṭ-ārjīta- as in other plates.

⁸ The Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants read maryyādasya.

⁹ The Uruvupalli grant has vasudhā.

¹⁰ The Pīkira grant reads prapautrō=bhyuchchita-.

¹¹ Read pravṛddha as in the Uruvupalli and Pīkira grants.

¹² Read lōkapālasya after this as in the above-mentioned grants.

- 7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-Skandava[r*]mmaṇaḥ pautrasya dēva-dviḥ-guru-vṛiddh-ōpasē-
vinō¹ vi-
8 vṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-saṃgrāma-sāhas-āvamardd-ōpalabdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 ²nirupam-ātmanō Yuvamahārājasya śrī-Vishṇugōpasya putraḥ Kali-yuga-dōsh-ā-
10 vasanna-dharm-ōddharanē nitya-sannaddha³ sprihanīya-parākkramō rāja[r*]shi-guṇa-sa-
11 rvva-sandōha-vijigīshur-ddharmma-vijigīshur=Bhagavat-pādānuddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭa-
raka-pāda-
12 bhaktaḥ paramabhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vikram-ākṛānt-ā[gdyā]⁴-śrī-nīlayō yathāvad-
āhrit-ā-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 13 nēk-⁵āśvamēdha-yājīnām=⁶Pallavānām=mahārājaḥ śrī-Simhavarmmā Muṇḍa-rāshṭrē
Viḷavattī-
14 grāmē tasy=aiva grāmasya kshētrañ=cha sarvvāddhyakshāmś=cha tat-saṅchārīṇaś=ch=
ājñāpayati⁷ a-
15 ya[m] ⁸gramaḥ sa-grā⁹as=sarvva-parihār-ōpētō ⁹dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjam=asmad-āyur-bba-
16 la-vijay-ābhivṛiddhayē samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē daśamē saṃvatsarē Śrāvaṇyām
śukla-pa-

¹ The Uruvupalli grant reads -ōpachāyīnō and the Pikira grant has -āpachāyīnō. The Ōṃgōḍu grant reads -ōpasēvinō as in the present one.

² The Pikira and Ōṃgōḍu grants read *saty-ātmanō*. The Uruvupalli grant applies the epithets *saty-ātman* and *mahātman* to *Mahārāja Skandavarman*.

³ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read -*dharāṇa-nitya-sannaddhasya*. The possessive form which has evidently been incorporated from the former into the latter of these grants has been left uncorrected into the nominative, though the appositional expressions *putraḥ* (l. 10), *parākkramō* (l. 11), etc., are in the latter case : vide above, Vol. VIII, p. 162, text ll. 10 & 11.

⁴ Read -*ānya-nṛīpa*- as in other grants. The other allied grants make this an attribute of the Pallavas and not of this particular king.

⁵ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read -*āśvamēdhānām* while the Ōṃgōḍu grant has -*ānēka-kratūnām Śata-kratūnām* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 254 f., text ll. 16 ff.).

⁶ The Pikira grant has *dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-* while Ōṃgōḍu has *vallabhānām Pallavānām dharmma-mahārāja-śrī-*.

⁷ The Uruvupalli grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas* at the first instance and then to the *āyuktakas*, *naiyōkas* (probably *naiyōgikas*), *rājavallabhas* and *saūcharantakas*. The Pikira grant is addressed to the *grāmēyakas*, *adhikṛīta-sarvvāddhyakshas*, *vallabhas* and *śāsana-saūchārīns*, almost as in the Māṅgaḷūr grant.

⁸ Read *grāmaḥ sa-grāsakas*=.

⁹ Dr. Fleet's translation of the expression *Vishṇuvarmma-sēnāpati-kṛīta-Vishṇuhāra-dēvakulāya dēva-bhōga*, etc., in the Uruvupalli grant is inaccurate. The grant is not meant for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by Vishṇuvarman but for the temple (*dēvakula*) called Vishṇuhāra founded by the general of Vishṇuvarman, as a *dēvabhōga*. This would thus appear to be one of the early temples of Kandukūr founded in Pallava times. A still earlier temple of Pallava times is that of Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the Prākṛit copper-plate charter of Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudevi dated in the reign of Vijaya-Khandavarman (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145). Dr. Fleet's reading *dēvabhōga* in text l. 26 of the Māṅgaḷūr grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 156) is only a printer's mistake for *dēva-bhōga* (vide his translation, *ibid.*, p. 157). But his reading *vasad-bhōga* (*ibid.*, p. 156, text l. 29 and p. 157 f.n.) is correctly *vasad-bhōga*. Dr. Fleet stated that the meaning of *vasad-bhōgga-maryādāyā* was rather doubtful. It is possible that it corresponds to the *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* of the Tamiḷ inscriptions and perhaps means 'with the tenants' occupancy rights assured'.

i.

1
 2
 3
 4

ii, a.

5
 6
 7
 8

ii, b.

9
 10
 11
 12

iii, a.

13
 14
 15
 16

iii, b.

18
20
[Text in Pāli script, lines 18 and 20 visible]

iv, a.

22
24
[Text in Pāli script, lines 22 and 24 visible]

iv, b.

26
28
[Text in Pāli script, lines 26 and 28 visible]

v.

30
[Text in Pāli script, line 30 visible]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 **kshē pañchamyām** Gautama-gōtrāya Chhandōgāya Viśṇuśarmmaṇē dattam(ttah)
 [*] yad=asmin=grāmē
 8 lōha-charmmakār-āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra-prāvārañchāra-rajju-pratihār-āpaṇ-Ājivika-ka-
 9 rāṇi Nāhala-Mukhadbaraka-kūpa-darsaka¹-tantravāya-dyūta-vivāha-nāpita-dē-
 0 y-ādini cha sarvva-parihāra-kāru-dēyāni cha yāny=anyāni ch=āsmad-bhāgyāni tāny=asmai

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 1 brahmadēyikṛitya dattāni Vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ [asmad-ājñām*] kurvvantv=itarē pariha[ra*]-
 ntu parihārayantu
 2 cha[*] yaś=ch=aitad=asmach-chhāsanam=atikrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ *śārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [*]
 Api ch=ā-
 3 tr=ā[r]shāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || () O ||—"Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānam=iha lōkē na vidyatē [*]
 yaḥ praya-
 4 chohati bhūmi[m*] hi sarvva-kāmūn=dadāti saḥ [*] *Brahma-svaṁ [hi*] viśaṁ
 ghōran=na viśaṁ viśaṁ=uchayatē [*] viśaṁ=ēkākinaṁ

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 hanti *prahma-svaṁ putra-²bautrikam || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundhā-
 rām³ [*] gavām śata-
 26 sahasrasya hantuḥ [pi]*bati kilbisham [*] *Yathā nirōhanty=uptāni kīrṇāni cha mahī-
 27 talē [*] ēvaṁ kāmā virōhanti bhūmi-dāna-samārjjitā[h*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā ba-
 28 hubiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Fifth Plate.

- 29 ¹⁰Asaṁkhyēyāni varshāṇi svarggē mōdanti bhūmidāḥ [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
 30 narakē vasēt || Prabhōḥ ¹¹sumukh-ājñāptyā¹² rahasyādhikṛitēn=**Āchhutēna** likhitaṁ śāsanam||
 31 Svasta(sti) || ¹³—

¹ [See above, p. 298, n. 5.—Ed.]

² This reading is found in the Pikira and other grants of the king. The Mayidavōlu Prākṛit plates read *sārī-
 raṁ śāsanam karejāmo* (above, Vol. VI, p. 87, text, l. 24).

³ The Uruvupalli and other grants quote this verse in a different form. The Pikira grant which cites the
 verse reads *Bhūmidāna-saman=dānam*.

⁴ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

⁵ Read *brahma*.

⁶ Read *-pautrikam*.

⁷ Read *vasundharām*.

⁸ The letter *pi* looks like *bi*.

⁹ This verse does not occur in the other grants of the king.

¹⁰ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

¹¹ Read *sva-mukh*.

¹² Invariably all the earlier grants adopt the form *ājñāpti* while the later ones, like those of the Eastern Chā-
 lukyas, have *ājñāpti*. The former though obsolete seems to be more suitable to the context in the technical sense
 of 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñāptiḥ*) while *ājñāptik* would strictly refer to the 'agency that
 commands'.

¹³ There is a symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

No. 44.—FIRST AND THIRD SLABS OF KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION : V. S. 1517.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under description was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in the *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1925-26. It seems to have originally been engraved on five big slabs of stone of which the fifth or the last slab has not yet been discovered. Of the second slab, only a very small piece has been found containing the word *Dharmapala* on the top to ensure its being a part of that slab. Of the remaining three slabs, the fourth one (which is the best preserved of whatever has so far been found of this inscription) has already been published¹ by R. R. Halder of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. I now take up here, at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, the first and the third slabs for edition. Both these slabs were discovered only in fragments and are, therefore, in a very damaged condition. All that has till now been discovered is deposited for preservation in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur.

The inscription belongs to a temple built by Mahārāja **Kumbhakarṇa** on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, originally called the **Kumbhasvāmin** temple but now known as that of **Māmā-dēva**. The first slab is 3' 10" broad by 3' 7" high with a margin of about 2" on all sides, and contains sixty-eight verses (1-68) with short sentences in prose in fifty lines of writing; and the third slab is 3' 1" by 3' 6" with a margin of about 1½" on all sides containing fifty-nine verses (121-179) with some small prose sentences in forty-nine written lines. Unfortunately the slabs are very much damaged and some of the important portions of their contents have altogether been destroyed.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, and *au* which are joined to the consonants are represented by both *śiro-* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. The letters are nicely cut and are on the average about two-fifths of an inch.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is, on the whole, free from errors. In the first slab, however, we find *sandhi* not observed in *śrī Ekulīṅga-prabhaḥ* (l. 7) and *pralaya-kṛit-yō* (l. 41); and in the third slab in **r=abhūt=śrī-Jaitra** (l. 27). In *yad=akāri Mōkala-nṛipaḥ* (ll. 29-30, slab I) the error of syntax is obvious. Besides, there are some other minor mistakes chiefly pertaining to engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding **orthography** we find that *v* and *ḃ* are usually distinguished, the exceptions being *Vāghēlīva-varṇanām* (ll. 28 and 31, slab I) and *=Amvāprasāda-* (ll. 19 and 20, slab III). The dental sibilant is used for the palatal one in *samsprisaṁty=api* (l. 20) and *sad-dharmya-saurya-* (l. 39) of the first and the third slabs respectively. The sound of *śh* is twice represented in the first slab by the sign for *kh*, e.g., in *-sarvaṁkakhāḥ* (l. 47) and *kalukh-āsagō ya[m*]* (l. 50). This seems to be based on the analogy of the representation of the sound of *kh* by the sign for *śh* in many of the inscriptions of this period in Rājputāna. The following other features are also to be noticed the examples for which are here drawn from the first slab only. *Anusvāra* is throughout used for nasals. *N* is almost invariably reduplicated after a superscript *r* by drawing a horizontal stroke across the body of the letter; other consonants are very often doubled, e.g., *svargga-Prayāga-* (l. 12), *muktir=jjanair=* (l. 13), **r=vvirair=ddānava-* (l. 16), etc., as against *muni-varair=gūtā* (l. 35), *garva-sarvaṁkakh(śh)āḥ* (l. 47), etc. *Jihvāmālīya* and *upadhāmānīya* are sometimes used and represented by a sign which here resembles the sign for *śh* as in *=nṛitamaṇyaḥ=khalu*

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 277-288.

(l. 2), *Takshakak*=*Kali-yugā* (l. 6), *...* (l. 16), etc. The sign for *avagraha* is used thrice, only in slab I, in *sarītō*=*śyā*[*h**] (l. 14), *rājatē*=*nyō* (l. 18) and *yaśō*=*śvamukhāḥ* (l. 28).

Before taking up the actual contents of the slabs under consideration, it may be mentioned that the present inscription, the Tower of Victory inscription and the *Ēkālīṅga-māhātmya* have a good number of verses in common. We know for certain that all these three records were composed during the reign of Mahārājā Kumbhakarna and are, therefore, contemporary records. Now the former two, *viz.*, the Tower of Victory inscription and the present record, besides belonging to two different localities far off from each other, have got the same date in all particulars which is Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in Samvat 1517 (=A.D. 1460, Monday the 3rd November). It, therefore, seems improbable that anything from the one may have been borrowed in the other, particularly when we consider the amount of difference found in the plan of writing followed in both of them. The text common in both these records, therefore, seems to have a different source altogether in the *Ēkālīṅga-māhātmya*, the third contemporary record, which seems to have already been compiled borrowing material particularly in its Princes' chapter, from many old inscriptions, *viz.*, the Mahāsati gate inscription¹ at Clitor of the time of Rāval Samarasimha dated in V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274), the Samādhisvara temple inscription² of prince Mōkala of V. S. 1485 (=A. D. 1428) and others. That the *Ēkālīṅga-māhātmya* was composed prior to the present record as well as the Tower of Victory inscription, and has an air of originality around it is also evidenced by the fact that the division of the Guhilōt family in two branches, *viz.*, the Rāval and the Rājā, in the reign of Rāval Rājasimha or Karnasimha, is first of all found mentioned only in this work where all other inscriptions, contemporary or otherwise, are silent. Although we do not know much about the Tower of Victory inscription at present, for, all other slabs containing it excepting the two, *viz.*, the first³ and the last but one⁴ (which also are in a very mutilated condition) are lost; but so far as the present record is concerned, much of what we find in connection with the genealogy of this dynasty in its three slabs till now discovered, is almost a reproduction of the *Rāja-varṇana* of the *Ēkālīṅga-māhātmya*. Thus, much of the destroyed portion of the slabs under consideration is restorable from the aforesaid work as well as from records prior and posterior to it, as will be done, wherever possible, in dealing with the text.

Taking up the **contents** of the **first slab** we find that it mainly describes in poetical manner some important geographical places of Mewār including lakes, hills, sacred spots, people, etc. It opens with the propitiation of Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī and Ēkālīṅga in three small prose sentences. Then begins the *Āśīḥ Prakaraṇa* covering verses 1-14, benedictory and invocatory in nature, in praise of many a deity such as [Lambōda]ra, Gajamukha, Vindhyavāsini, Ēkālīṅga, Pinākin, Ina and others. The deity of the first verse is, however, difficult to determine due to the initial portion of the verse being destroyed.

Then begin various descriptions the first of which is the description of **Trikūṭa**. With regard to the method of composition followed, it may be remarked here that the whole of the present inscription is distributed in various *varṇanas*, the commencement and the termination of each of which is indicated by *atha* and *iti* respectively. This *Trikūṭa-varṇana* covers verses 15-17. Trikuṭa is a range of hills naturally formed into a triangle within which is situated the temple and the town of Ēklīṅgajī.

¹ *Bhāvnagar Skt. and Pr. Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhav. Inscr.*, pp. 96-100.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, plate XXI.

Vv. 18-19 contain the description of a rivulet called **Kuṭilā** in inscriptions which rises in the Trikūṭa hill nearby and flows only in the rainy season. Its description as given here is simply hyperbolic.

In vv. 26-22 we have the description of the goddess **Vindhyavāsini** whose shrine is situated on the slope of the hill to the north outside the rampart round Ēkalingaji's temple.

In vv. 23-24 the poet describes the god **Ēkalinga**. The temple of Ēkalingaji is, in popular belief, regarded to have originally been built by Bāpā Rāval, which, having been damaged in course of a few centuries by the Muslim invaders, was repaired by Mahārāṇā Mōkala who also furnished it with a rampart to ensure its protection. Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna, the son of Mōkala, is also stated in vv. 239-40¹ in the fourth slab of this very epigraph, to have done something towards reparation to this ancient shrine. The modern structure of the temple, however, is stated to be the work of Mahārāṇā Rai Mal who laid fresh foundation and erected the new structure.

Vv. 25-28 give the description of a beautiful tank situated to the east, near Ēkalingaji's temple. It is popularly known as Indra-sāgara, but it is here called **Indratīrtha-Bhōjasara**. The tank is said to have been in existence since the time of Indra who is stated in v. 8 to have meditated on the feet of Ēkalinga in *Kṛita-yuga*; but it was given its present shape by forming the dam, etc., by Bhōjabhūpa, one of the early predecessors of the Guhila family, and hence called after his own name.

Then come the descriptions of Kāmadhēnu (vv. 29-30) and Takshaka (vv. 31-33) who are stated in v. 8 to have attended upon Ēkalinga in *Trētā* and *Dvāpara* ages respectively. The city of Nāga, i.e., Nāgdā, the ancient capital of Mewār, is here stated to have originally been founded by this lord of the serpents.

Vv. 34-35 describe **Dhārēśvara** whose temple is situated a few paces off the Ēkalingaji temple on the base of the western range of the neighbouring hill in front. This small temple with a reservoir attached to it seems from v. 167 of the third slab of this inscription to have been built by Rāval Samarasinha as a deed of charity.

Next comes the description of **Vaidyanātha** in vv. 36-37, whose temple must have existed at Ēklingaji at the time. No such monument is now popularly known to exist there.

In vv. 38-40 is described another beautiful tank situated to the south of the town of Ēklingaji, touching the site of the ancient town of Nāgdā, popularly known as Bāghelā Talāv but here simply called **Vā(Bā)ghelāva**. This tank was excavated by prince Mōkala in memory of his brother Bāghasimha.

From here the poet takes us to the fort of Chitor and describes in vv. 41-50 the temple of **Samā-dhīśvara** which is situated a little way to the south-west of Kumbhā's great Tower of Victory. This temple was originally built by Bhōjarāja, the Paramāra prince of Mālwā, in the eleventh century when Chitor had already become a Paramāra possession in the reign of his uncle Muñja (Vākpatirāja). It was also called Tribhuvananārāyaṇa temple after his title *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa*, and Bhōjasvāmīdēva-jagatī². The temple having been ruined in course of time was repaired by prince Mōkala in V. S. 1485 (=A.D. 1428) on account of which it is now generally called Mōkalaji's temple. The present inscription, however, assigns the renovation of the temple to prince Kumbhā (v. 49), but this fact is not corroborated by any other record. The poet here evidently appears to have confused this monument with the temple of Kumbhasvāmin on the fort which really was built by Kumbhā. Rai Bahadur Ojhā regards this temple as the second

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 286.

² *An. Rep., Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1920-21, p. 4.*

ancient monument on the fort¹, the first being that of Kālikā of the seventh or the eighth century, originally dedicated to Sūrya or the Sun god. But in fact, the temple under description is the third ancient monument on the fort, the second being the temple of Kukkuṭēśvara as will be seen from the next paragraph.

Then we come to the description of **Mahā-Lakshmī** in vv. 51-54. The temple of this goddess is now generally known as that of Annapūrnā, but what is worshipped here is the same original image of Lakshmī with a lotus flower in her hand and an elephant on each side of her face. This temple was originally built by Mahārāṇā Hammīra (A.D. 1326-1364). These verses also contain the description of **Kukkuṭēśvara** (Śiva) and **Gadādhara** (Viṣṇu) whose temples are also situated near the Mahā-Lakshmī temple. The temple of Gadādhara is now generally called as that of Chārabhuja (Chaturbhuja). The three big reservoirs of water, viz., *Mātāji kākūṇḍa*, the *Kukadēśvara-kūṇḍa* and a third one, all in the vicinity of these three temples, are also briefly mentioned here. It may be pointed out that the original temple of Kukkuṭēśvara and the adjoining reservoir of the same name date as far back as V. S. 811 (=A.D. 755), an inscription of which date recording the erection and the excavation of the temple and the reservoir respectively was found there by Col. Tod.² Later on, the reservoir being damaged was repaired by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā.

In vv. 55-57 we find the description of **Kumbhasvāmin** now popularly known as Kumbhaśyāmājī, whose temple was erected on the fort of Chitor by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in V. S. 1505 (=A.D. 1448) and styled after his own name. The temple was originally dedicated to Varāha or the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu as mentioned here (v. 56), but nowadays Viṣṇu in his ordinary form is here worshipped. The temple Kumbhasvāmin to which belongs the present inscription, is not to be confused with the monument under description, for, the former was erected not at Chitor but at Kumbhalgarh and was later in date. Kumbhā evidently erected two temples dedicated to the same god on both the prominent forts of Mewār.

Vv. 58-68 contain the description of the country of **Mēdapāṭa** (Mewār), mentioning in general terms its cities, rivers, hills, lakes, gardens, people, etc.

Lastly is mentioned in prose the **date** of the inscription which is **Monday, the fifth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in Saṁvat year 151[7] and Śaka year 1382**, corresponding to A.D. 1460, Monday the third November, taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. At the end of the first slab we are asked to consult the second slab for further description.

Of the **second slab**, we are in possession of a very small fragment as already stated, which is of no avail for our present purpose. It can, however, be concluded that it must have contained the description of some other important places of Mewār, for we find the central portions of the initial four lines contained in that fragment to be identical with the initial portion of an independent description of Chitrakūṭa extending over a good number of verses, found in another unpublished inscription from Kumbhalgarh whose first slab is preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum which seems to contain in an abridged form all that is found in the first and the second slabs of the present inscription with the same date. The second slab contained fifty-two verses (69-120).

As to the **contents** of the **third slab** we find that it opens with the description of Mahārāula śrī-Bāpā which extends over six verses (121-126) on this slab. Vv. 121-122 mention **Hārītarāśi**, but much of their text is now lost to us. In v. 122 mention has been made of a person whose surname (*apara-nāmadhēya*) reads in the mutilated text as [śrī] . . [ya]ku[bja] who appears to be the father of Hārītarāśi. What little is, at present, preserved to us of this verse

¹ *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. I, p. 354.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1823 (W. Crooke's ed.).

clearly calls Hāritarāśi a *divijendra* or the best of *divijas*. We cannot, however, fully believe in it for the date of the present record, as compared to that of the sage under description, is much later ; but we can at least believe that at the time of the composition of the record, he was regarded as of Brahmin origin. Rai Bahadur Ojhā's contention that he was an ascetic of the Nātha order¹ does not necessarily contradict the present description, for he, born as a *divijendra* or the best of *divijas*, i.e., a Brahmin, might later on have accepted that order.

From v. 123 properly begins the description of Bāpā who is there said to be a *vipra* meditating on the feet of Hāritarāśi who bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mewār (vv. 124-25), and to have migrated to Mewār from Ānandapura. Verse 123 of this slab is also found in Rāval Samarsimha's inscription² at Chitor of V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274) located in the western wall of the northern gate of the Mahāsati enclosure. In the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalīṅga-māhātmya* we have another verse of the same import composed in a different metre, originally found in the Ātapura inscription³ of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977). The only difference between the two verses is that the former mentions Bāpā and the latter Guhadatta in precisely the same terms. Now, in the former record of V. S. 1331, Bāpā is mentioned as the *Purāṇa-purusha* or the progenitor of the family and Guhadatta or Guhila as his son (the same order being followed in almost all other records later to it including the one under consideration) ; while the latter record of V. S. 1034, which is earlier in date, speaks of Guhadatta as the founder of the family and Bāpā as one of his descendants. This shows that already in the thirteenth century people had forgotten what their predecessors knew a few centuries ago about the genealogy of the ruling family. One point, however, viz. these rulers being described as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva*, is common to both earlier and later records. Guhadatta's description as *mahī-dēva* in the Ātapura inscription referred to above led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing the record, to conclude that Guhadatta was a Nāgar Brahmin of Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt and that the Udaipur dynasty had a Brāhmanic origin⁴. But instances in inscriptions where the scions of this dynasty are described as *Kshatra-kshētra* (v. 6 of the same Ātapura inscription)⁵, *Kshatriyavamsa-maṇḍana-maṇi* (v. 5 of the Śringī-rishi inscription)⁶, etc., are in no way wanting as Rai Bahadur Ojhā rightly points out⁶. The use of such terms as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva* in their connection seems to have some bearing on their habits which they might have acquired through such association as mentioned in certain bardic chronicles⁷, and not on their blood. There are, again, epigraphs of various dynasties in which the ruling princes are described as born in *Brahma-Kshatriya-kula*⁸ which simply hints at their being possessed of both divine and martial virtues, by habit and blood respectively. So also an inscription of the tenth century from Chāṭasū in the Jaipur state describes prince Bhartṛipatṭa of this very Guhila dynasty as *Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita*⁹, hinting thereby at the possession of both the virtues mentioned above.

Next is given the account of Rāula śrī-[Guha]datta (vv. 127-33). He is described as the son of Bāpā and it was after him that the dynasty came to bear the title *Guhila*. He, as has already been noticed, was really the founder of the dynasty and thus an early predecessor of Bāpā. Nothing remarkable of him is mentioned here except that he had a son *Lāṭivinōda*¹⁰ by name who

¹ *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 337.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ *Muhammāda Nainasi's Khayāta*, p. 10.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 307.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 13-17.

⁷ Whether *Lāṭivinōda* is a proper name or simply an epithet is also doubtful, yet here it seems to have the plausibility of being the former.

⁸ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 74-78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁰ *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 378-89.

was called as such due to passing his days in enjoyment with ladies of the Lāṭa country. No prince of this name has been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the dynasty so far discovered. In A.D. 1869 General Cunningham had found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra¹ bearing the legend *Śrī Guhila* which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Then we have the description of Rāula śrī-**Sh(Kh)ummāṇa** (vv. 134-37). He is said to have weighed himself against gold in company of his wife and children, and given away the precious metal in charity. In vv. 136-37 is mentioned his far and wide conquest (*dig-jaya*) of various countries, viz., Aṅga, Ba(Va)ṅga, Kalinga, Triliṅga (Telugu country), Surāṣṭra, Chōḍa, Draviḍa and Gauḍa. This description is not free from exaggeration, but the martial spirit with which the name of Khummāṇa is associated in Mewār even to this day may point to some truth therein.

It may be mentioned here that the description of the foregoing three princes, viz., Bāpā, Guhadatta and Khummāṇa as found in this record contains no chronological truth.

We now come to the most **important** and also the **original portion** of the whole inscription called *Rāja-varṇana*. At the very outset it is professed that this portion dealing with the genealogy of the ancient rulers of the family, has been prepared after studying many old *praśastis* (v. 138). The first thing that draws our attention here is the title *Rāja-varṇana* which seems to have been borrowed from the *Ēkalīṅga-māhātmya* where a whole chapter extending over 204 verses is called *Rāja-varṇana*. Although much of this Princes' chapter of the *Ēk. mht.* is contained in the present record as already mentioned above, this particular portion, at least that preceding the description of Rāval Samarasimha, seems to be genuine and prepared with solemn effort. Here we have another proof of the priority of the *Ēk. mht.*, for, if it had been posterior to the present record as Rai Bahadur Ojha thinks², that portion of the *Rāja-varṇana* under consideration which is original, dealing with the ancient rulers of the Guhila family whose chronology was even then regarded doubtful, would have been totally incorporated in the *māhātmya* being a result of very laborious researches as professed in v. 138 of the present record. On the other hand, it may be assumed that as the genealogy of the early rulers as given in the *Ēk. mht.* was not found to be trustworthy an attempt was made in the record under discussion to make it as authentic as possible.

Now we may take up the contents of this portion. In the family of Guhila was born a prince **Bhōja** by name. From him were born **Mahindra**, **Nāga**, **Bappa** and **Aparājita** (v. 139).

It may be noted here that the author has already mentioned Bāpā as the very founder of the family but now he takes him as the son of Nāga. Similarly he has described before Guhila or Guhadatta as the son of Bāpā, but here he evidently believes him to be the real progenitor of the family which he calls the *Guhila-varṇa*. This clearly shows the amount of labour bestowed on the present portion. From the Āṭapura inscription of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977) which gives a correct genealogy of the family from Guhila to Śaktikumāra, we learn that the son of Nāga or Nāgāditya was Śīla, and from the Kuṇḍēśvara temple inscription³ of V. S. 718 (=A.D. 661) we find that the father of Aparājita was Śīla, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 703⁴ (=A.D. 646) has been found and is now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Thus, we find that the term *Bāpā* or *Bappa* which is now universally believed to be not a proper name but simply a title, is either here accepted by the author as the title of Śīla, or he may have used it as an independent proper name, but in either case he has been clearly mistaken.

¹ A. S. R., Vol. IV, p. 95.

² *Rāj Itihās.*, Fasc. II, p. 619, n. 2.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 99.

Then came **Mahindra** (II) and from him was born **Kālabhōja**. After him came in succession **Sh(Kh)ummāna**, **Mattaṭa**, **Bhartṛipaṭṭa** and **Allaṭa** (v. 140).

The chronology as mentioned in this verse omits between the last two princes, the names of some five princes, viz., **Simha**, **Khum māna** (II), **Mahāyaka**, **Khum māna** (III) and **Pharṭipāṭṭa** (II) mentioned in the inscription of V. S. 1034. This clearly shows that the author did not possess a copy of that inscription at the time of writing this portion. He seems to have studied only some later records such as the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331, the Rānapura inscription of V. S. 1496, etc., which also he seems not to have studied carefully, for, the names of three princes out of five omitted here are to be found in both these records. It may also be mentioned here that **Bāpā** as a title is regarded by different scholars as belonging to the first three princes mentioned in this verse. Thus, **Kavirāja Shyāmaldās** takes the first prince of the verse, viz., **Mahindra** (II)¹, **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar**, the third prince **Khum māna**² and **Rai Bahadur Ojhā**, the second prince **Kālabhōja**³, to be **Bāpā**. **Col. Tod**, however, with the scanty material he had at his disposal, thought long ago that **Bāpā** was the title of **Śīla**.⁴

Then came **Naravāhana** and then **Śālivāhana**. After him was born **Śaktikumāra** and from him **Amv(b)āprasāda**. **Ambāprasāda** had three brothers **Nṛivarmā**, **Anantavarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** by name (vv. 141-42).

What is worthy of note here is the name **Anantavarmā** which is not found in any other record so far discovered. Likewise, the name of **Śuchivarmā** found in some of the other records is omitted here. **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar**, therefore, is inclined to regard the former as identical with the latter⁵. **Ambāprasāda** is named **Āmrprasāda** in the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331. Similarly **Nṛivarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** are called **Naravarmā** and **Kīrtivarmā** respectively⁶ in other inscriptions. These three brothers of **Ambāprasāda** mentioned above, also seem to have ascended the throne successively as they are mentioned in order of succession in a few other inscriptions.

Then **Yōgarāja** became the ruler of Mewār whose line did not obtain royalty although he himself fully enjoyed it (v. 143). This important fact of the deprivation of throne from the progeny of **Yōgarāja** is known from this inscription only and is mentioned nowhere else. **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** gives the reading of the last quarter of this verse as *tach-chhā. [nō divam] gatāh*⁷, with his own omissions and additions and interprets that the line of this prince came to an end during his own lifetime and the throne thus passed on to **Vairāṭa**. He has omitted one syllable in the first word of this quarter which is distinctly visible on the slab as *shā(khā)*. The intention of the **Rai Bahadur** in omitting the syllable seems to be to regard the first word as masculine plural ending in *nō*, presuming that the word might thus mean 'off-shoots of his family', for which he has also inserted *visarga* after *gatā* at the end to make it plural. But the text as visible on the slab, although partially damaged, clearly seems to be *tach-chhāsh(kh)ā n=ō[chhri(chchhra)jam] gatā* (ll. 20-21), which clearly shows that the line of this prince was cut off from the throne evidently due to some internal family feud and the lot finally fell on **Vairāṭa**, one of the progeny of **Allaṭa**. The word *api* in the beginning of this verse also emphasises this conclusion, otherwise there is no justification for its use here.

¹ *Vira-vinōda*, part I, p. 250.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 404.

⁴ *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 270 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁵ See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 389, n. 1.

⁶ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 440.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443, n. 2.

Thus **Vairāṭa** ascended the throne after Yōgarāja and was succeeded by **Haṁsapāla** after whom came **Vairisīmha** (v. 144). This prince erected a rampart round Āghāṭa-*patṭana* (v. 145), the modern town of Āhaḍ near the city of Udaipur, also mentioned in inscriptions as Āghāṭapura or Āṭapura. He had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a *narēndra*, was the most virtuous (v. 146). Unfortunately we do not find the name of this virtuous *narēndra* mentioned here who must evidently have succeeded his father Vairisīmha. In the Bhērā-ghāt inscription¹ of the Chēdi year 907 (=V. S. 1212 and A.D. 1155) and the mount Ābu inscription² of V. S. 1342 (=A.D. 1285), the son of Vairisīmha and grandson of Haṁsapāla is mentioned as **Vijayasīmha**, a copper-plate grant and a stone inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1164 and V. S. 1173 respectively have been found³. Thus, it can easily be understood that the prince who is anonymously mentioned here in v. 146 is none else than Vijayasīmha, and the author, due to his apparent ignorance, has not mentioned this name. In the Rāṇapura inscription⁴ of V. S. 1496, however, the name of Vairisīmha's successor is given as Virasīmha; and Rai Bahadur Ojha is inclined to accept him and Vairasīmha of v. 147 of the present inscription whom he regards as the son of Vairisīmha, as being identical with Vijayasīmha of the Bhērā-ghāt inscription⁵. He does not seem to have given due consideration to v. 146 of this slab which mentions Vijayasīmha in clear terms as *narēndra* though omitting his name, as already shown above. The present inscription appears to speak of Vairasīmha not as the son of Vairisīmha, but as his grandson unless *tasmāt* in v. 147 is meant to refer to Vairisīmha which from its position and the construction seems improbable. This fact is overlooked also by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who professes to have taken the names of princes of this dynasty after Śālivāhana from this record⁶. It thus becomes almost settled from this epigraph that Vijayasīmha's son was Vairasīmha. This is corroborated by a small inscription which I had found engraved on the pedestal of the Haṁsapāla image at Padarādā which mentions Virasīmha as the son of Vairasīmha. The date of that inscription, however, presents some difficulty. I, therefore, leave this point here for further investigation. For the time being, this portion of the chronology has to be regarded as uncertain.

Thus, we find that Vijayasīmha was probably succeeded by **Vairasīmha** and from him was born **Arasīmha**. His throne was occupied by **Chōḍa** (v. 147). Chōḍa had an elder brother named **Vikramakēsari** whose son was **Raṇasīmha** (v. 148).

Chōḍa is also called Chōḍasīmha in the Rāṇapura inscription and nothing more is known of him and his predecessor from any other epigraph. Vikramakēsari is here mentioned as the elder brother of Chōḍa, but in the Ābu inscription of V. S. 1342 he is mentioned as the son⁷ of Chōḍa which seems to be more probable. Nothing is mentioned here about Raṇasīmha. The *Ēkalinga-māhātmya*, however, attributes to his reign the splitting up of the ruling family into two divisions, viz., the *Rāval* (senior) and the *Rāṇā* (junior), ruling over Chitor and Sesodā respectively. Although our author has sometimes closely followed the *Ēk. mht.*, he has, however, not borrowed the portion dealing with this division, evidently because his object here was to prepare a chronological list of the princes of the main branch who really governed Mewār as a whole. He, as a matter of fact, is quite cautious in distinguishing the princes of the one branch from those of the other (as

¹ Above, Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

² *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 84-87; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 445-46; Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 176 and 191.

⁴ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 113-15; *An. Rep.*, A. S. I., 1907-08, p. 214 f.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 444, n. 3.

⁶ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 388, n. 7 and p. 389.

⁷ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, p. 86.

will be seen later on), which knowledge he appears to have derived from a close study of the *Āghāṭapūra*.

Raṇasimha was succeeded by **Kshēmasimha**, the younger brother of **Mahānasimha** who evidently predeceased his father. Then **Sāmantasimha** became the ruler of Mewār (v. 149). Nothing beyond the names of these princes is known from the present epigraph.

Sāmantasimha was succeeded by his brother **Kumārasimha** who turned out of Mewār one **Kitū** who had somehow taken hold of the country (v. 150). He also made *Āghāṭapūra* his own by acquiring the favour of the ruler of Gujarāt.

Kitū whom Kumārasimha had driven out of Mewār was the third son of *Ālhaṇadēva*, the Chauhān ruler of Nāḍōl in Mārwar. He was brave and ambitious and had acquired the dominion of Jālōr from the Paramāras through his own might, and had become an independent prince. He was the founder of the Sonagarā branch of the Chauhān race¹. In the inscriptions and the copper-plates of the Chauhāns, his name is mentioned as Kīrtipāla but he was better known as Kitū² in Rājasthān. He seems to have attacked Mewār and taken hold of it in the reign of Sāmantasimha, the predecessor of Kumārasimha, when the former had become weaker owing to being at regular war with the rulers of Gujarāt in order to regain his dominions gone in their possession.³ When Kumārasimha succeeded his elder brother Sāmantasimha, he practically seems to have nothing to govern except the fort of Chitor which the latter seems to have regained from the ruler of Gujarāt through hard struggle. One of the two 'prince-ships' (*nripatirē*, v. 151) which Kumārasimha is here stated to have gained was that acquired by expelling Kitū out of Mewār; the other was gained by recovering the ancient capital of *Āghāṭapūra* which still remained in the possession of the rulers of Gujarāt.

Āghāṭapūra was lost to Mewār as early as the first half of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era, having been attacked by Vākpatirāja (Muṇja), the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa, in the reign of Śaktikumāra, as known from v. 10⁴ of the Hastikuṇḍī inscription of V. S. 1053 (=A.D. 997). Since then it became a Paramāra dominion along with the famous fort of Chitor which also seems to have been annexed thereto by the same prince, where used to live the celebrated Paramāra prince Bhōja, the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Muṇja, who built there the great *Trilokyanārāyaṇa* temple (now popularly known as that of Samiddhēśvara and Mēkalajī, so called after his *biruda* of *Trilokyanārāyaṇa*).⁵ This Paramāra dominion of Mewār subsequently passed in the hands of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarāt in the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja, who, after a hard struggle extending over a period of twelve years defeated Naravarman and his son Yaśovarman, the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa and brought the Mālwa dominion, including *Āghāṭapūra* and Chitor, under his own control⁶. The rulers of Gujarāt enjoyed an uninterrupted authority over both these important localities of Mewār for a long time, when Sāmantasimha of Mewār, the elder brother of Kumārasimha attacked the ruler of Gujarāt who is supposed to be Ajayapāla, to regain his lost citadels. There is no explicit mention of this fight in any of the records so far discovered, but we find an indication of it in the Ābu inscription of V. S. 1287 (=A.D. 1230)⁷, where the ruler of Gujarāt is stated to have been assisted by Prahādanadēva, the younger brother of Dhāravarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Through this fight Sāmantasimha appears to have acquired the fort of Chitor

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 452 and Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 382, n. 8.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 452.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 20.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 435-36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 211.

from the Chaulukya Ajayapāla, but had been unable to take back *Āghāṭa*, which task was ultimately carried out by his younger brother Kumārasimha as mentioned here. He was succeeded by **Mahanasimha** (v. 151) who is mentioned in other inscriptions as Mathanasimha.

Mahanasimha (Mathanasimha) was succeeded by **Padmasimha**, a prince of great valour whom people even now remember for his manifold merits (v. 152).

Next we come to the description of Rāula śrī-**Jayasimha**, also called **Jaitrasimha**. Though a fresh title is given to the portion dealing with this ruler it has to be regarded as a sub-division of the *Rāja-varṇana* which is still continued. This prince is stated to have governed the four territorial divisions, *viz.*, Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa; and no prince on the surface of the earth is said to have ever thought of humbling his pride (v. 154). He held his court at the capital of **Nāgharada**, the modern Nāgdā near Eklīngajī (v. 155).

Mēdapāṭa as mentioned here seems to have comprised the rest of Mewār excluding Chitor and Āghāṭapura, both of which are regarded as forming two different divisions. Vāgaḍa, which is described here as the fourth division, is the country to the south of Mewār, now forming two different states, *viz.*, Dungarpur and Bānswārā.

Rāula śrī-**Tējasimha** (vv. 158-159) is spoken of next. Nothing beyond his name and a poetical description of himself is given here. It may be noted that the portion dealing with this ruler has got a new title and a colophon, and has thus been made an independent description although apparently under *Rāja-varṇana*. The poet has evidently not been able to maintain a strict uniformity in the classification of his *varṇanas*.

The account of Rāula śrī-**Samarasimha**, the son of Tējasimha, which comes next extends over seventeen verses (vv. 160-176). It is worthy of note that the portion covered by these seventeen verses is nothing but a reproduction of the corresponding portion of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkaṅgi-māhātmya*, in the same order. It has already been stated by me that the latter had been compiled prior to the composition of the record under consideration, borrowing verses from many old inscriptions and arranging them sometimes without the least discrimination. This being so, the present description of our record (being nothing but a copy from the *Ēk. mht.*) has naturally come to have certain verses (particularly v. 168), which, properly speaking, have no bearing on Samarasimha. Nothing of any historical importance is mentioned here of this prince. Simply his valour, munificence and such other virtues are poetically described. His erection of a small temple dedicated to Śiva called Dhārēśvara at Eklīngajī, however, finds mention in v. 167. The remaining verses of the sub-section, borrowed as they are from other inscriptions through the *Ēk. mht.*, are primarily found in connection with the other princes of this line. In v. 176 which is the last dealing with Samarasimha, he is stated to have gone to heaven having appointed **Ratnasimha**, his son, for protecting the fort of Chitor.

The last ruler recorded on this slab is Mahārāṇā śrī-**Lash(kh)amasī** whose account is continued on the fourth slab. The author here clearly distinguishes Lakhamasī by calling him *Mahārāṇā* from the foregoing princes who are styled *Rāula*, and seems to have critically studied the *Ēk. mht.*, particularly the portion dealing with the division of the family. He has here deliberately omitted the description of all the Rāṇās found just after that of Rāval Samarasimha in the *Ēk. mht.*, and has taken into account only one of them, *viz.*, Lakhamasī who, although not a crowned prince of Mewār just like others of his branch, was conspicuous by his presence with his seven sons, as a gallant defender of the fort when Chitor was sacked by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A. D. 1303. In v. 177 he is stated to have bravely defended the fort as well as the honour of the family which had been cast in a critical situation when Ratnasimha, the ruling prince, had fled (*gaṭē*, v. 177) from the field of battle in a cowardly manner (*kūpurushair=vinuktām*, v. 177).

This inscription does not speak of Ratnasimha as having bravely fought and died in the battle-field, as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks¹. This battle is here stated to have continued for full one year (*samvatsaram*, v. 179) before the Muhammadans could capture the fort, while the Muslim historians reduce this period to half its length, i.e., six months². I really could not understand why Rai Bahadur Ojhā has omitted the word *samvatsaram* in his citation³ of this verse, which is visible on the slab plainly enough.

Lastly, **Samvat 1517** is given as the date of the inscription. Other particulars of the date are not given on this slab as on others, probably for want of space.

Nothing can be said definitely with regard to the authorship of the inscription until the last (i.e., the fifth) slab is brought to light. Rai Bahadur Ojhā is, however, inclined to regard the author of the Tower of Victory inscription, Mahēśa of Daśapura (Daśōrā)-*jñātī* to be the author of this inscription also, on the ground of the common text found in both these records⁴. But the occurrence of some common text in two records does not necessarily imply the identity of authorship, for some of the verses common in both these records appear to have been borrowed from other ancient epigraphs.

It hardly needs any mention that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarna** of Mewār whose description has been taken up towards the end of the fourth slab and must have been continued on the fifth. Though the main **object** which the inscription aims at recording, cannot be definitely ascertained till the last slab is discovered, it stands to reason that it recorded the erection of the Kumbhasvāmin temple at Kumbhalgarh.

TEXT.⁵

*First Slab.*⁶

प्रथमपट्टिका १

- 1 श्री ॥ स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीगणेशप्रसादात् ॥(1) श्रीसरस्वतीप्रसादात् । श्री[एक]लिंग-
प्रसादात् । अथ श्री[श्रीः][॥*] — — — सुखमातनोतु जगतां यस्याङ्गिपीठे
लुठत्वंदारुचिदशालिमौलिविलसद्ब्रजप्रभादीपिते । सिंदूरारुणमंडलो दिनमणिर्भ-
2 त्रैक[चिं]तामणिर्दत्तेर्चासु स[ह]स्रपत्रधिषणां [दे]वांगनानां प्रगे ॥⁸ [लंबोद*][र]:
प्रययतादतुलां मुदं यो बालोनुबिंबिततनुं शशिनं जिघृक्षुः । लब्धो मया-
मृतमयखलु मोदकोयमित्यं ननत्तं गिरिजांगण-

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 484. [Mr. Vyāsa's interpretation seems far-fetched. *Galē* may mean 'having died'.—Ed.]

² Briggs' *Firishtā*, Vol. I, pp. 353-54.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 484, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 632.

⁵ Transcribed from the original stone slabs.

⁶ A portion of the text now missing on these slabs has been restored from other records. We shall, for the sake of convenience, call them in the footnotes by the following abbreviations: the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla inscription of V. S. 1207 at Chitor (above, Vol. II, pp. 422-24)—A; the first slab of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331 (*Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 74-77 and Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XXV)—B; the Samādhiśvara temple inscription of V. S. 1485 (above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 96-100)—C; the *Princes' chapter* of the *Ēka-līnga-Māhātmya* of the time of Kumbhā (a fragmentary manuscript copy of which I have found in my father Samskriti Vyās Vishnu Ram Śāstri's collection)—D; the first slab of the Tower of Victory inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XX)—E; and the later *Ēk. mht.*, of the time of prince Rāi Mal (a manuscript copy of which written in V. S. 1754 I have also found in my father's collection)—F.

⁷ Indicated by a symbol.

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 3 रंगभूमौ ॥[२]¹ त्रैलोक्यातुलरचनैकसूत्रधारः[कल्म]ाणं प्रथयतु व[~~पिनाकपा*~~]-
णिः । यद्भक्तिप्रवर्णधियो यदीयनाम्ना सर्वार्थान्मनुजगणाः क्षणान्नभते²॥³
कपोलप्रोदं चन्द्रमधुरतालुब्धमधुपस्फुरद्गुं-
- 4 जागीतिः श्रवण[पुट]तालो गजमुखः । चलत्कु[च्छु]डा[दंडा*]⁴कलितकल[कंठः प्रथयता*]⁴-
न्मुदं विभ्रत्सूत्रं त्रिभुवनमहामंडपविधौ ॥[४]⁵ कुटिलासरित्समीपे त्रिकूटगिरि-
गहनभूषिणी नित्यं[त्यम्] [१*] वाङ्कितफलप्रदा-
- 5 त्री देवी श्रीविंध्यवासि[नी] जयति ॥⁶ उद्यदिनद्युति[भासि*][कि]रीटां तुंग ७ — ७
७ — ७ ७ [यु]क्तां[क्ताम्] । स्मेरमुखीं वरदां कुशपाशाभौतिकरां प्रभजे
भुवनेशीं[शीम्] ॥⁷ जयति जगत्त्र[त्त]यनाथो जगतीपतिपूजितस्सदा शंभुः[१*]
- 6 वाङ्कितफलप्रदोयं श्रीमा[नि]त्येकलिङ्गाख्यः ॥⁸ इन्द्रः[स*]र्वसुरेश्वरः [क्त][तयुगे भक्त्या
यमाराध*]⁹यत्तेत्रायां [स]क्ताभिलाषफलिनी धेनुस्तथा ह्यपरे । नागेशः किल
तत्तत्क~~क~~कलियुगे हारीतनामा मुनिस्सोयं सर्व-
- 7 जगद्गुरुर्विजयते श्री¹⁰एकलिङ्गप्रभुः ॥¹¹ जयत्येक[श*]¹²[र]ाघातविदारितपुरत्रयः । धनु-
हाराणां धो*]¹²[र]यः¹³ पिनाकी भुवनत्रये ॥¹⁴ त्रैलोक्यं त्रिपुरांतकोवतु सदा
यन्मौ¹⁵लिमूले जटाजूटाचि~~क~~परिपिंजरे परिगता भात्युच्चकै-
- 8 जाल्मवी । कर्पूरामलपट्टिकेव निहिता [जावू]नदे भाज[ने] [है]माद्रेरुदिते[व]
— ७ — ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — ॥¹⁶ कचिदलिपटलाभः काल-
कूटामु[नु]वेधात्कचिदमलतराभिर्भूतिभिः श्वेतकायः । विमल इव जलौघो यामु-
- 9 नः स्वार्धनश्च प्रणदतु दुरितं वो नीलकंठस्य [कंठः ॥¹⁷ ज]य देवि जगन्मा[तः
.. .. ७ — । विदधा]नाननं दिष्ट्या प्रण-
तामरसंमु[नु]ते ॥¹⁸ विष्णो~~क~~का वल्लभा स्यात् किमु ननु गदितं बर्ष-
संवेग्निबीजं किं वा चार्थेव्ययं

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

² This verse is no. 1 in E.

³ Metre : *Praharshipī*.

⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from E where the v. is no. 2. Here also the text is much mutilated.

⁵ Metre : *Sikhariṇī*.

⁶ Metre : *Gīti*.

⁷ Metre : *Dōdhaka*.

⁸ Metre : *Āryā*.

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from v. 39, Ch. X of F.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹¹ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīṭita*.

¹² Text within these brackets is restored from v. 44, Ch. X of F.

¹³ The *visarga* seems to have been added later on and hence is very faint.

¹⁴ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁵ The vertical stroke of the *au* sign in *mau* is very faint and seems to be a later addition.

¹⁶ Metre : *Mālinī*.

- 10 वा भवति निशि परं किं च रूपं तदाच । किं मातल्याभिधायि स्फुरति
ननु पदं [ये]यसि सेवका[नां दा]त[व्या]शीकथं वा वदत मतिमता¹
कुम्भकर्णाय राज्ञे² ॥१३³ इनो धिनोतु नो लीनोमीनो धीनो वु(ब)भोपि
नो⁴ । विनोदनो मनोधा-
- 11 [न]हीनोन्नानो न नोदनो⁵ ॥१४⁶ इत्याशीःप्रकरणं ॥ अथ [त्रि*]कूटवर्षनं ॥
शिखरेषु दुष्पशुभिस्तुभि[स्त]दुपत्यकासु विमलैः सलिलैः । मृदुकुङ्कुजदलि-
भिर्जन्तिभिर्द्विर्देहिकूटशिखरौ जयति ॥१५⁷ इन्दिरारचितचारुमंदि-
- 12 रा हेमभूमिमवमत्य तामपि । विध्यवासरुचिरैत्तिकूटि[नं] स्तौमि किं किम[प]रं
तमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥१६¹⁰ यत्र शृंगविहारिह्रीर¹¹ हरितारक्तोत्पलप्रोक्षमखंसक्तोत्तरभूरिभाभिर-
जनि स्वर्गप्रयागभ्रमः । चित्रं तत्र विलोकयद्भिरभि[तं] चैतं चिकूटा-
- 13 चले नानायासवतापि दुर्लभतरा मुक्तिर्जनैराप्यते ॥१७¹² इति त्रिकूटवर्षनं ॥
अथ कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ पातकविमतविनाशकशंकरतरवारिनिर्मला कुटिला ।
सुरसरिदिव दिवमुपनतमाराधितुमुपगता जयति ॥१८¹³ कचिस्त्रीना मौ-

¹ Better read *matimatām* as qualifying *sēvakānām*.

² This verse, strictly speaking, should go to prince Kumbha's description, but being benedictory in nature it seems to have been included in this *prakaraṇa*. The solution to the riddle contained in this verse appears to be. श्रीरस्तु क्षणदा सदा.

³ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Read *naḥ*. The intentional change of *visarga* to medial *ḥ* at the end of both the halves of this verse appears to be for the sake of alliteration.

⁵ The meaning of this verse appears to be as follows :—

विनोदन इति वीनां अस्त्रानां श्रोत्रियाणां पत्निषां वा नोदनः स्त्रेषु कर्मसु प्रेरकः इनः सूर्यः । मनी-
धानः सिद्धिदायकत्वेन हर्षयित्वा मनसः पीयकः नः गणेशः । अहीनी न हीन इति सर्वेश्वर्यसुभगः, अथवा
अहेः कालियस्य इनः शास्ता ईनः एलंक्षयाः इनः पतिः कृष्णरूपी विष्णुरित्यर्थः । अन्नानी न अर्थात् परम-
ज्ञानवान्, द्वौ नञौ प्रकृतार्थे दृढयतः, एवंभूती धीनः धियां मतीनां इनः स्वामी गीष्पतिरित्यर्थः । नोदनः
जीवनस्य अग्रे प्रापकः वनीपि, अपिः समुच्चयार्थः, वो वायुः नः सकलप्राणिभिः स्तुतः, अस्य बन्ध्यासौ नयेति
विशेषणसमासः, सकललोकप्रशंसाभिरासी जीवनसमेषयिता च वायुरित्यर्थः । एष सर्वोपि लीनः आभिमुख्येन वर्त-
मानः सन् नः अस्मान् अम् भटिति धिनोतु मंगलादिप्रदानेन प्रीणयतु इत्यर्थः ।

⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ The syllables °d=alibhi- which were at first omitted by mistake are later on engraved above the line in smaller letters.

⁸ The *r* over *ba* seems to have been engraved later on in a very narrow space.

⁹ Metre : *Pramitākṣharā*.

¹⁰ Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

¹¹ The word *hīra* primarily means 'a diamond', but it is here used in the sense of 'white' which it may mean secondarily.

¹² Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Metre : *Aryā*.

- 14 ना मकरमहती मध्यजगती पतत्तीरं नीरं तटविट[पि]नो वीतविटपाः । अशक्ते¹ संमक्ते²
नटति कुटिलं मध्यनिकटे ततो जाता मन्ये त्रिदिवसरितोऽस्या³ कुटि-
लता । १६⁴ इति कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ अथ विंध्यवासावर्षनं ॥ महेशमोहनं
मो-
- 15 हतमोनिर्व्वर्षनं महः । गुंजापुंजकृतोत्तमं विंध्यवासमुपासहे ॥२०⁵ इन्द्रनीलकुल-
मंजुलद्युतिर्ल्लिया दलितदैत्यमंहतिः । सत्तिकूटभुवि चारुहासिनी चंडिका
जयति विंध्यवामिनी ॥२१⁶ धावक्षीरर्ध(ध)नुर्धरैरपि महाकुंता-
- 16 मिवित्रामिभिर्व्वीरैर्द्वाजपुंगवैः परिहृतं सं[ग्रा]मरंगोद्धतं(तम्) । आ[क्र]म्यावटुमंक्रिणा
समदहत्योद्दामशृला[न]ोनज्जालाभिर्महिषं जगति सततं सा विंध्यवासावतु ॥२२⁷
इति विंध्यवामावर्षनं ॥ अथ श्रीएकलिंगवर्षनं ॥ श्रीवाटे मेदपाटे
- 17 परिहृतकपटे प्रोचकूटे त्रिकूटे हारी हारौतरा[शि]रग[णि]ततपसा शंभुराविर्वाभूव ।]
यस्याद्यापि प्रमादादधिगतयशसो वप्पवंशे [न]रेशा निर्व्वरं भूमिभारं भुजभुज-
गफणामंडनैकहंति ॥२३⁸ काशीभूर्मा विकाशी न भवति न गि-
- 18 रौ राजते राजतेऽन्यो लंकालंकारभूयं न वहति न गतः शोणिते¹⁰ शोणितेपि ।
इत्ये[कैक] ॐ — — f. ॐ ॐ f. ॐ रे मंजयेवादिदिक्षुः प्राप्तप्रौढिस्त्रिकूटे
प्रमथपतिरमावकलिंगह्वयोस्ति ॥२४⁹ इति श्रीएकलिंगवर्षनं ॥ अथ इन्द्र-
- 19 तीर्थभोजसरोवर्षनं ॥ विराजते तत्र च पूर्व्व[सं]श्रितं सरस्वरेन्द्रस्य शशांकसुंदरं-
(रम्) ॥ श्रीभोज[भूपे]न सु[कि]तु¹¹मंडितं विधाय यज्ञोजसरः स्फुटीकृतं(तम्) ॥२५¹²
रत्नप्रदानसमये तु मया विषेण संभावितोयमिति भोजतडागदंभात् । भीतस्त-
- 20 रंगचमरैरमरप्रवीरं सर्वो जयन्¹³ ज[ञ्ज]लधि[रा]विरभूत्किमत्र ॥२६¹⁴ तीरवीरुधि मरालबा-
लि[का] मंजरीमधुकमा[धुरी]जुषः । संस्पृसं(शं)त्यपि न धूलिधूसरं केसरं
सरसि भोजमंजके ॥२७¹⁵ सरसी सुरेशदिशि शंकर¹⁵तो विम-

¹ Read *asaktēh* (genitive singular).

² Read *samsaktēr*=(ablative singular in *hētu* or cause).

³ Read *sarītā*=*syāh*.

⁴ Metre: *Śikharinī*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Rathōddhatā*.

⁷ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ There is a medial *ē* stroke on top of the syllable *dva*, which is superfluous.

⁹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁰ This word as qualifying *Śōṇita* or *Śōṇitapura* (beyond), the city of *Bāṇāsura*, a great devotee of *Śiva*, is used in the indicated sense (*lakṣhyārtha*) of *anurakta* meaning 'devoted'.

¹¹ The word *kētu* here means 'shape' or 'form'.

¹² Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁵ The syllable *ra* has a superfluous *prishṭha-mātrā*.

- 21 लैरनल्पकमलैस्सल्लैः । मृगना[भि]पत्रमिव भातितरामिह मेदपाटजगती[यु][व*]-
तेः ॥२८^१ इति इन्द्रतीर्थभोज[सरोव]र्षनं ॥ अथ कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ चक्री
चारु चकार किंकरगतिं वज्री विशालानतिं रंभारंभमुपासितुं
- 22 परिणुतिं कर्तुं विरंची रुचिं(चिम्) । यस्यां विंध्यगिरिचिक्कूटकुहरोदं चच्छि^२वारा-
धनस्त्रीतो(ता)[दा]तफलभाजि सा तनुमतो धेनुर्द्धि[नोतु श्रि]या ॥२९^३ उपास्य
गुरुकंदराकुहरसंचरं शंकरं जगाम जगतीतलादिह हि कामधेनुर्द्धिवं-
(वम्) । न
- 23 चेदमलचंद्रिकाधवलदुग्धधाराभरैः [स्फु]टैरधिधराधरं कथमभावि विंध्याचले ।[१]३०^४
इति कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ अथ तक्षकवर्षनं ॥ उ[र्व्वीमं]डलमाविभिद्य सुतला-
दाशु चिक्कूटचले संयस्य स्वमुमापतिं परिगतो भे-
- 24 जे भुजंगाधिपः । तेनालीकित एष ना[ग]नगरं निर्माय विप्राय तद्वत्वा(च्चा)
मन्त्रिजकीर्तिःकैरवकुले चंद्रायते तक्षकः ॥३१^५ शंकरं परिचचार तक्ष[क]ः
स चिक्कूटधरि(र)णीविहारिणं(णम्) । पश्य तत्फलमनेन वक्षसा चारुहा-
- 25 र इव सोपि धार्यते ॥३२^५ स्वर्गसादक[त य]ः परीक्षितं भूपमप्रतिमयत्नरक्षितं-
(तम्) । त[स्य] शौर्यमथ किं प्रशस्यते तक्षकस्य सुतवैरदारुणं(णम्) ॥३३^५
इति तक्षक[वर्षनं] ॥ अथ धारिश्वरवर्षनं ॥ एकलिंगनिलयस्य सन्धु(सु)-
खं पा-
- 26 शिनो हरिति राजते हरः । संततं त्रि[पथ*][भू]मिगाहिनी वाहिनी शिरसि
येन धार्यते ॥३४^५ चिक्कूटगिरिकंदराकुहरवारिधाराभरैर्जटाघटनलंपटैः शिरसि
यस्य संभूयते । यतेत मनसा परं परिकलय्य तं शंकरं करोतु
- 27 सुकृती निजं त्रिदशवक्त्रभादुर्द्धभं(भम्) ।[१]३५^४ इति*] धारिश्वरवर्षनं ॥ अथ
वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ योनादिर्न परासुमुभक्त(ज्भ)ति न वा वैद्येन संसाध्यते
वीरुद्वल्लालमूलपत्रविटपत्रातैरलं योजितैः । [तं] संसारमहागदं तनुमतामा-
मूलसु-
- 28 च्छेदयन्मानध्यानमहीषधेन जय[तु श्री*]वैद्यनाथो हरः ॥३६^५ अधिविंध्यमंध[क]-
रिपुर्व्विपुलं यदगापयन्निजयशोऽश्वमुखीः । तदुपाचरन्निदशभूमितलप्रतिवासिनाम-
खिलतापरुजं(जम्) ॥[३]७^१ इति वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ अथ वा(वा)-

^१ Metre : *Pramitāksharā*.

^२ The conjunct *ch* seems to be engraved later on.

^३ Metre : *Sārūlavikrīṭita*.

^४ Metre : *Prithvī*.

^५ Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

- 29 चेलाववर्षनं ॥ धोरं नौरं कमलम[म]लं मंजुला वं[जुला]ली स्फौतं गीतं मृदु
मधुलिहां वीतशोकाश्च कोकाः । यत्रागाधे सरसरसितं जृभते सारसानां
काम्यां याम्यां दिशमनु सरः शंकरात्तच्चकास्ति ॥३[८¹ यद]कारि² मोकल-
- 30 नृपः स[रीवरं ल]सदिंदिरानिल[य]राजिराजितं(तम्) । उपगम्य भालनयनस्तदा[श]यं
जलकेलये अयति नापरं पयः ॥३८³ हरभालभंगुरशशियुतिभिः कुमुदाकरं
विकचमुद्वहति । दिवसे दिनेशविवशेपि सरस्तदुप[चिक्कट]-
- 31 मतुलं जयति ॥४०⁴ [इति] वा(वा)[वे]लाववर्षनं ॥ अथ ओसमाधोश्चरवर्षनं ॥
स्था[ष्णू(क्षू)]नां शकसंचतोभयचयः चेत्रेषु काश्यादिषु खैरं भक्तजनलये
परिददेभीष्टं समाध्युत्सवैः ।⁵ क्लेयं किं परिचिंत्य दुर्गमवितं औचिक्कटं
नृपैर्यो-
- 32 ध्यास्ते शकघातिभिः स ज[यताहे*]वः समाधोश्चरः ॥४१⁶ [मौ]ली प्रौढो जलौघो
वसति हिमवपुर्वक्रदोषाकरोपि प्रोच्चस्निग्धः कपर्दः कुटिलगतिपते⁷ फूत्कतिः
सत्फणानां(नाम्) । ज्वालौघो दारदोयोधिगलमिति शिवायुक्स्ममेत्या-
- 33 प रुद्रो दिश्याद्वश्चिक्कटं विभव[म]भयदं द्राक् समाधोश[तां] सः⁸ ॥४२⁹ तस्मिन्
देवः [स]र्वलोकैकनाथो वासं प्राप्तः प्रेयसीप्रौतिहृष्टः । इष्टे दत्ते मुक्तिमुक्तौ
द्रुतं यः पुंभ्यो भाति श्रीसमाधोश्चरः सः ॥४३¹⁰ यस्य ध्वजं वीक्ष¹¹ पुमान्
मनागप्यवेक्ष-
- 34 तिसौ महिषध्वजं न । संपूजयेत्तं [वृ]षभध्वजं यः प्रपूजयेत्तं गरु¹²डध्वजोपि ॥४४¹³
तं दक्षिणेन प्रकटप्रभावा श्रीजङ्गकन्याकलितस्वभावा । मंदाकिनौति प्रथि-
तास्ति वापी यां सर्वथा पश्यति नैव पापौ ॥४५¹⁴ वापी परियं मणिकर्षि-
केव समा-

¹ Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

² This Passive Voice Aorist form of the verb in the Active Voice construction of the sentence is grammatically incorrect. It may have been used here for the sake of the metre.

³ Metre : *Mañjubhāṣinī*.

⁴ Metre : *Pramitākṣharā*.

⁵ This *daṇḍa* being omitted at first was thinly engraved later on.

⁶ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīṇita*.

⁷ Read -*patē*.

⁸ There is a little obscurity in the arrangement of words towards the end of this verse. *Āpa* is to be connected with *Chitrakūṭam* and *samādhīsatām*, and *diśyād* with *vibhavam*.

⁹ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

¹⁰ Metre : *Śālinī*.

¹¹ Read *vikṣhya*.

¹² There is a medial *ē* stroke on *ḍa*, which is superfluous.

¹³ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

- 35 धिशंभुः खलु विश्वनाथः । काशो प्रकाशोपि च चित्रकूटः किं नह तद्यत्र
[भ*]वेद्विमुक्त्यै ॥४६^१ हंत्याराध्व(हु)जटशर्नं महदधं स्प(स्पर्श)मरावासदः पूजा
यस्य विमुक्तिदा मुनिवरैर्गीता सकृदा कृता । यत्रास्ते भगवान् स्वयं स
जगतां भर्ता
- 36 समिद्धेश्वरस्तस्यालं गुणदर्शने[न] महिमानुक्तोपि विज्ञायते ॥४७^२ अ[स्मि]न् समिद्ध-
हरदक्षिणमूर्तिसंस्थाः भक्ता(ङ्गा)रहारि निपतज्जलमज्जदोशा । मंदाकिनीसरि-
दियं सुरनिस्त्रगाभा स्नानावृणामधनुदेस्त्ववलोकनाच्च ॥४८^३ यत्र श्री-
- 37 मति चित्रकूटशिखरे श्रीकुंभभू[मी]पतिः प्रामादं गिरिजापतेर्व्यग[चय]न्दे(द्दे)वालयाली-
वृतं(तम्) । उन्मीलत्पुपताकहेमकलशे रत्नावलीनोरणे यत्रेशः समवाप्य सौख्य-
मधिकं धत्ते समाधोशतां(ताम्) ॥४९^४ यत्रासादशिरो न्यस्तध्वजहस्तेन
राज-
- 38 ते । चैसंध्यर्त्यनादेन कलिं निर्भ[र्त्य]न्निव^५ ॥५०^६ इति श्रीममाधोश्वर[व]र्षनं ॥
अथ महालक्ष्मीवर्षनं ॥ शक्रापहनुपादिते वसति चित्रकूटे शिवः शिवं प्रभजते
दिशन्निति समौच्य लक्ष्मीः किमु । स्थितात्र नक्षत्रदित्यलभलं विहाया-
- 39 स्तु सा सतां परमुदे द्रुतं स(सु)फलदा [शि]वस्य प्रिया ॥५१^७ श्रीकु(कु)-
टेश्वरगदाधरयोः पुरस्ताद्व्याः श्रियोपि अश्वरुधरैः सरोभिः । क्षीरोदधित्व-
मधिःतुमिवासमेदः क्षारोदधित्वविधमूर्तिरिडाध्वरांस ॥५२^८ सौभाग्यैकमहौष-
धिर्भ-
- 40 गवती यस्मिन् भवानो स्वयं जागर्त्ति [प्रि]यसंनिधानवसतिः सा[ध्वी]जनानां
गुरुः । देवस्योपि समस्तनाकरमणौसंतानदानवतप्रयो(श्वो)तक्षकरंदबिंदुसुरभि-
प्रस्फारवृत्तांगणः^९ ॥५३^{१०} पाव(व)तौमुखपद्मस्य नचभ्रमरशोभिः ।
- 41 प्रबोधहेतवे नमः^{१०} कुकु(कु)टेश्वरभानवे ॥५४^{११} इति महालक्ष्मीवर्ष[नं] ॥*^{१२} अथ
कुंभस्वामिवर्षनं ॥ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ यत्र दधाते कलशयियं(यम्) । प्रामादः
कारितः कुंभस्वामिनः कु(कुं)भभुभुजा ॥५५^{१३} यस्त्वैलोक्यजनिस्थितिप्रलयकृत्^{१४}यो-
(द्यो)

^१ Metre: *Upajūti*.^२ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.^३ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.^४ This verse is found in l. 23 of A where the first half of it is destroyed.^५ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.^६ Metre: *Prithvi*.^७ The syllable *vā* is only partially engraved.^८ This verse is no. 70 in C where variance in reading is in *saṁtāna-dāna-vraja*. It will be seen that our author has improved the reading.^९ The sense is *namrō bhavāmi*.^{१०} *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 42 दानवेन्द्रांतको यो विष्णुस्थितये बभार दशधा मूर्तिः [सु]नीद्रेर्नु[तां(ताम्) । दं-
ष्ट्रायोद्धृतस्राद्रिसागरधरो ध्यातश्च यो योगिभिर्विष्णुयज्ञ विराजते स भगवानाद्यो
वराहाकृतिः ॥५६¹ सत्यं संति जगत्त(त्त)योपरिसरे ते ते सुराधीश्वरा
येषां
- 43 संस्तुतिमात्रमत्र फलदं स्वर्गापवर्गादिनः । अस्माकं तु यदा[धि वि]त्तफलके²
संकल्पकल्पद्रुमं कुम्भस्वामिपदारवि(विं)दमुदितं तेनैव सर्वामयः ॥५७¹ इति श्री-
कुम्भस्वामिवर्णनं ॥ अथ मेदपाटवर्णनं ॥ अथास्ति देशः प्रवरप्रदेशः
- 44 श्रीमेदपाटाभिधया प्रतीतः । स्वर्गोपि यं वीक्ष्य विलक्षभावाद[ल]क्षभावं प्रतिपद्य
तस्थौ ॥५८³ तोर्यैर्मंदरकंदरैरिव मनोह्रद्यैः पुरैः स्वःश्रियो लावण्यैरिव विस्तृतैः
सितमणिस्वच्छैः सरोभिश्च यः । व्योमश्रीमुकुरैरिव प्रतिपदं
- 45 स्फुटो जयत्यंगनासौंदर्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभि[ध]ः⁴ ॥५९¹ उच्चैर्देवगृहैस्स-
रा(रो)भिरमलैः पुण्यापगाभिर्महावापौभिः शरदिंदुधामधवलैस्तुत्तोरणै(णै)र्मंदिरैः ।
आराभैरतुलैर्विचित्रखनिभिश्चाभंलिहैरद्रिभिर्या
- 46 नूनं हसतीव शक्रवसुधां सन्नायकालंक्षता ॥६०¹ वाहा यत्र [वि]लोलोद्भवा इव नरा
गंधर्वपुत्रा इव स्रज्ज्वाता इव धेनवश्च सुदृशो गीर्वाणकन्या इव । पंचास्या
इव शस्त्रिणो मणिरिव स्वच्छं मनो धेमतां देशस्तोयमनर्गलामरपुरश्री-
- 47 गर्वसर्वैकखः(षः)⁵ ॥६१¹ प्रजवितुरगह्वेषारावमाकर्ण्य यस्यासहनयुवतिलोके [कान]नांतं
प्रयाति । रुचिरवसनहा[रैः] कंटका(क)श्रावसक्तैर्धवखदिरपलाशाः कल्पवृक्षत्व-
मापुः⁶ ॥६२⁷ यत्र सत्रप्रपाः पांथसार्थविश्रामभूमयः ।⁸ प्रति-
- 48 ग्रामं प्रतिपुर⁹ प्रतिपत्तनमाबभुः ॥६३¹⁰ नृद्वौतटस्यास्त्रयोध्वजारिणां यमं बुधां
चापहरंति हेलया । कुलीनभावात्स्वयमेव देहिनः प्ररोपकारे हि भवंति
तत्पराः ॥ ॥६४¹¹ सरसाः कवयो यत्र गुरवस्तत्त्व(त्त)वेदिनः । बुधाः संति
प्रमाण-

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over *kē*.

³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁴ This verse is no. 6 in B.

⁵ This verse is no. 7 in B where variance in reading is in *°marapuri-śrī-garva*.

⁶ This verse is no. 16 in B and belongs to the description of prince Bhōja of the Guhila family.

⁷ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁸ This mark of punctuation is incomplete.

⁹ Read *°puram*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Vamśastha*.

- 49 ज्ञास्तदलं स्वर्गसंस्तवैः ॥६५¹ सुधा च वसुधा चात्र समे विश्वधृता कृते ।
तयोर्वर्षविशिषेण परमेका विशिष्यते ॥६६¹ मानवा मानवा यत्र प्रमदाः
प्रमदाः सदा । केवलं केवलं प्राप्य तापसास्तापसा न हि ॥६७¹ कलाक²लाप-
प्रथि-
- 50 तात्मभूपा जना न हीनाः कलयापि यत्र । तत्तत्कथातः कलुखा(षा)[श]योय³
तुलामलंकर्तुमुपैति चंद्रः ॥६८⁴ एतदनंतरवर्षेन [द्वितीय*]⁵पट्टिकाया अंक-
क्रमेण वेदितव्यं ॥ संवत् १५१[७] वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्ग-
शीर्ष वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः [॥*]

Third Slab.

[द्वितीयपट्टिका ३]

- 1 हारीत[रा]शिम[निपुंगव] — — — — [से] — — — — सादव — —
— — [१*] — — — — [भि]षिच्य चिरा[य] — — — —
— — — — — [ग्रभूर्यः ॥१२१⁶ श्री] — [य]कु[जापरना][मधे-
यात्तपो*]-
- 2 निधाना[दु]दभूद्विजेंद्रः ॥(1) [हारी][तराशि] — — नि*[प्ललं]को — गा — —
— — — — — [॥१२२⁷ जीयाद[ग]नंदपूर्व तदिह पुरमिला]खंड-
[सौंदर्य*]⁷[शोभि] [क्षोणी][पृष्ठ*]⁷[स्थ][मेव*]⁷ [त्रि]द[शपुरमधो(धः)] कु[र्वदुचै*]⁷
- 3 [स]मृद्ध्या ॥(1) यस्मादागत्य विप्रश्च[तुरुदधिमहीवेदि*]⁷[निक्षिप्तयूपो व][प्याख्यो
वीतरागश्चरण*]⁷[युगमु]पासीत⁸ हारीतराशेः⁹ ॥[१२३]¹⁰ सं[प्राप्याहुत]मिक[लि]ग-
[चर]णभोजप्रसा[दा]त्फल[ल] [यस्मै*]¹¹
- 4 [दि]व्यसुवस्वपादक[टकां] हारीतराशिर्ददौ ॥(1) वप्पाख्यः[स पुरा पुराणपुरुषः*]¹¹
[प्रा][रं*]¹¹[भ]निर्व्व¹²हणातु[ल्योत्साह]गु[णो] बभूव [ज]ग[ति] श्रीमिदपाटाधिपः
॥१२४¹³ [सदैक*]-¹⁴

¹ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

² There is a superfluous medial *ē* stroke over this *ka*.

³ Read ^o*sayō=yañ*.

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Due space for these three syllables is left on the slab.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 9.

⁸ Read ^o*m=upāsishā*.

⁹ This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojha (*Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 380, n. 2).

¹⁰ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 10 and 29 respectively. The difference in reading in the former is in *purāṇa-purusha-prārambha-* and in the latter in *-phalam ch=āsmāi* and *babhūva nripatih*.

¹² First *ryā* was engraved which was afterwards turned into *rvā*.

¹³ Metre: *Sārūlavikriḍita*.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

- 5 लिं [र्चनशुद्धवो[धसं]प्रा[प्त]सा[युज्य*]¹][महोदयस्य][। हारीतराशिरसमप्र*]¹सादादवाप बप्पो
नवरा[ज्य]लक्ष्मीं(क्षौम) ॥१२[५]² बप्पो शि[वे] लयमुपे[युषि] नीलकंठ[प्रौढप्र*]³-³
- 6 [सादम]प्रा[प्त]दमवाप्य त[स्य] ॥(1) [वंशो] [जगत्तय*]⁴[प][विचचरित्रपात्रमद्याप्यखंड*]⁵-³
म[खिलां] जयतीं प्र[शास्ति] ॥१[२६]⁴ इति म[हारा]ज[ल]श्रीबापावर्षनं ॥ ॥
अथ राउलश्री[गुहद*]-
- 7 [त्तव]र्षनं ॥ तस्यात्मजः [स नृप]तिर्गु[हि][लाभिधानो धर्माच्छशास वसुधां
मधु*]⁶[जिवाभावः ॥(1) यस्मा[ह]धी गुहिलवर्षनया [प्रसि]द्धां गौहिल्य[वं]श-
[भव]राजगणोत्र जातिं(तिम्) ॥१[२७]⁴ य*]
- 8 [आ]नंदपु[रि] पूर्व गुह[द]त्ता[भिधो द्विजः] ॥(1) स ले[भे] .. ७ — —
.. .. ७ — ७ .. 1*]॥१२८⁶ [गु]हिलधरशिनायोत्तुंगरंगः⁷ [प्र]ताप-
स्तरुणतरुणिरि[ष] स्ना[पयन्]नैरिचंद्रान् ॥(1) व्यचरद[तिविचि*]⁸-⁸
- 9 [चं सं]ततं यत्पृथि[व्या]मदहद[रिवधूटीपद्मिनी][नां सुखाब्जं(जम)*]⁹ ॥१२९*]⁹
— ७ — [त्रा*]¹⁰[सि]तशत्रुबंधुः प्रतापसंतर्जितपद्मबंधुः ॥(1) [गां]भीर्य[दू]-
रीकृत[सप्तसिंधुर्यशोभर[न्य] ७ ७ — ७
- 10 [सिंधुः] ॥१३०² य[स्मा]दभू[द्भू]रितर[प्रता]पो [भूपालमौ][लि*] ७ ७ — ७ — —
[1*] — — ७ — — रघुव[त्सु]ध[न्वा] यस्मा[त्सि]द्धो गुहिलान्ववायः
॥१[३]१² [गुह]प्रदाना[द्गुह]दत्तनामा वंशो[यसु]क्तो
- 11 गुहिल[श्च] कैश्चित् ॥(1) स एव गांभीर्य[वशाद्धिभर्ति रत्ना][कर*] — ७ ७ —
७ — — ॥१३२² [ला]टीजनेन मधुरस्वरगीत[के]न पीनस्तनेन रति[काल-
विचक्षण]ेन ॥(1) साहं विनोदितदिनो [ग-
- 12 ति]मंथरेण लाटीविनोद इति तस्य ब[भूव] सु[तु]ः ॥१३३⁴ [इति राउलश्री-
गुहदत्तवर्षन*] ॥ ॥ अथ राउलश्रीषु[खु]म्भाणवर्षनं ॥ ह[र्षा]द्योतोल[य]र्षं
निजसुतगृहिणीसंयुतं कांच[निन] प्रा-

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

² Metre: *Upajāti*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D and E where the verse is no. 30 and 7 respectively.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 13 and 17 respectively. The difference in reading in the latter is in *Srīmān=abhūt=sa*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Better omit the *visarga* and read *°raṅga-pralāpas=*.

⁸ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse no. 18 where the difference in reading is in *°Uṅga-rinṅa-*.

⁹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

- 13 दा]त्तद्याचकभ्यः कनकमिति लस[त्कल्पवृक्षोपमा][नः । कोर्त्ति विस्तारयन्वां तु*]¹
हिन्ददाधसुधाक्षीरहीरावदातां स श्रीषु(खु)म्माण[नामा] स[म]भवदेवनेर्नायको
भूरिभा[ग्यः] ॥
- 14 १]३४² विलंबयंती संकलं महोत[लं दि]ग[गणं वारि][निधोन् गिरिवर्जं(जम्) ।
षु(खु)*]म्माणराज्यश्रीरोमणिरसावसी [न]न[र्त्ताङ्गतकीर्त्ति]नर्त्तकी ॥१३५⁴ [अंगाः
संप्राप्तभंगाः] सम[रभु*]⁵
- 15 वि परं दत्तनगोः कलिंगा [वं(व)गा नष्टाखिलांगा⁶ श][रततिहंतिभिः पाति-
तांगा*]⁵स्त्रिलिंगाः ॥(1) सौराष्ट्रात्य(स्य)त्तराष्ट्रा [न]रपतितिलकप्रस्थितौ दिग्जयार्थ
[चौ]डाः सं[त्य][त्तचूडा*]⁵
- 16 रणरस[पट]वो द्राविडो [नैवे गौडा] ॥१३६² प्रा[च्या] — ७ — ७ — ७ —
[दजग]णवो दक्षिणोत्तरोभवद्भो वाचमनिदितां नरपतेरौदीचकोप्याददे ॥(1)
प(पा)श्चात्योपि न [भू][षणानि*]
- 17 [वितर]न्पाश्चा[त्यभावं दधौ तस्मि]न्दि[ग्विजयोद्यते न][रपती*] — — ७ — [त्यजसा]
॥१३७⁷ ॥ इति राजलश्रीषु(खु)म्माणवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ राजवर्णनं ॥ अतः श्री-
राजवंशोत्र प्रव्यक्तः [प्रो][च्यते*]-
- 18 [धुना] ॥(1) चिरंतनप्र[शस्तौ]नाम[नि]का[ना]म[तः(वे)]क्षणा[त्] ॥१३८⁸ तस्मिन् गुहि-
लवंशिभूजोनामावनोत्तरः ॥(1) तस्मान्म[ही]द्रनागाहो⁹ बप्पाख्यश्चापराजितः ॥१३९⁸
महो[द्रभट्ट(ट)सं]-
- 19 पाला]लालभोजस्तोर्जनि ॥(1) षु(खु)[म्माणो मत्त]टश्चा[मौड्डट(तृ)पट्टे(टो)]¹⁰ प(अ)-
[क्षटः] ॥१४०⁸ नरवाहनसंज्ञश्च शालि[वाह]न[भूप]तिः ॥(1) [ज]ज्ञे शक्तिकुमा-
राख्यस्तस्मादंवा(वा)प्रसादतः¹¹ ॥[१४१]⁸
- 20 [नृव]मानतर्वक्त्रा च यशोवक्त्रा महोपतिः ॥(1) तयो[र्प्यंवा(वा)]प्र[सादस्य जज्ञि]रे
[भ्रा]तरोस्य च ॥१४२⁸ ततश्च योग¹²[रा]जोभू[न्ने]दपाटे महोपतिः ॥(1) अपि
राज्ये¹³ स्थिते तस्मिन् तच्छाषा(खा) नो[कृ](च्छ)यं]

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 32.

² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 33.

⁴ Metre: *Upajati*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 34.

⁶ Read *khilāṅgāh*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Either read *Mahindra-Nāg-āhvau* or *Mahindrō Nāg-āhvō*.

¹⁰ *Sādhā* is not observed here.

¹¹ Read *-prasādakaḥ*.

¹² Space for one letter between these two syllables seems to have originally been defective on the slab, and hence not used for engraving.

¹³ Read *rājyē*.

- 21 गता ॥१४६^१ पश्चादस्रटसंताने वैरटोभू[न]रिखरः ॥(१) ततः [श्रीहंसपालख] वै[रि]-
सिंहो [नृपाय]णोः ॥१४४^१ स्थपितोभि[न*]वो येन श्रीन(म)दाघाटपत्तने ॥(१)
प्राकारश्च चतुर्दिक्षु च[तुर्गोपु][र*]-
- 22 भूषितः ॥१४५^१ डाविंशतिः सुतास्त[स्य] बभूवुः सगु(द्गु)णालयाः ॥(१) तेषां मध्ये
बभूवैको नरेंद्रः पुण्यभाजनं(नम) ॥१४६^१ तस्मात् सुवैरसिंहोभूदरसिंहस्तोजनि
॥(१) तत्पट्टे चोडनामा[सौदृह]-
- 23 हं[धु]र्हराधिपः ॥१४७^१ चोडस्याप्यग्रजो [ज]ज्ञे बंधुर्विक्रमकेसरी ॥(१) तत्पुतो रण-
सिंहाख्यो राज्ये रंजितसत्तजः ॥१४८^१ [श्री]महणसिंहकनिष्ठ(ष्ठ)भ्रातृश्रीक्षेमसिंह-
स्तत्पुत्रः^२ ॥(१) सा[मंतसिंह]-
- 24 ना[मा] भूमिपतिर्भूतले जातः ॥१४९^३ भ्राता कुम(मा)रसिंहोभूत्स्वराज्ययाहिणं
परं(रम्) ॥(१) देशाब्जिका(ष्का)सयामास कौतूहलं नृ[पं] तु यः ॥१५०^१
स्त्रोक्तमाघाटपुरं गूर्जरनृपतिं प्रसा[द्य मि][श्री*]-
- 25 [घ(घा)त् ॥(१) येन] नृपत्वे लब्धे तदनु श्रीमहणसिंहोभूत् ॥१५१^३ तद्भ्राता
पद्मसिंहाख्यपृथ्वीशः पृथु[वि]क्रमः ॥(१) अद्यापि संस्मरंतीह [ज]नौघा यस्य
सङ्गणान् ॥१५२^१ यः सदा शौर्य[सौ]दर्यगांभी-
- 26 यौदौ[र्यमंदिरं(रम्) ॥(१) स श्रीमान् पद्मसिंहोभून्नान्यस्तेन समो नृपः ॥ १[५३]^१ अथ
राउलश्रीजयसिंहर्षनं ॥ तत्पुत्रस्तु नि[ज]प्रतापदहनज्वालासुसंभुजितः^४ प्रो[हा]म-
प्रतिप[क्षसं]-
- 27 तति]रभूत्श्री(श्री)जैत्रसिंहो नृपः ॥(१) यस्याकारि न [कु]त्र[चित्ति]ति[भुजा के]-
नापि भूमंडले नित्यं देशचतुष्टयीं विलसतः सन्मा(भ्या)नभं[गि] मनः ॥१५४^५
दुर्गं श्रीचित्रकूटं समप[रमपरं भीषणं भी]-
- 28 मदुर्गं चाघाटं मेदपाटं निखिलमपि वरं वागडं — — — [१*श्रीमन्नाग]-
ह्रदसौ विलसति निजदोदडसाम[र्थ्यतो यः ख्यातः सौर्यं [जगत्यां चिर]मिह
जयताजे(जै)त्रसिंहो नर(रें)द्रः [॥१५५]^६

^१ Metre: Anushtubh.

^२ The first and the second quarters are irregular each having a syllabic instant in excess.

^३ Metre: Āryā.

^४ Omit visarga and read -su-samdhukshita-prōddāma-.

^५ Metre: Śardūlavikrīḍita.

^६ Metre: Sragdharā.

- 29 [इह हि भव][नि]भूवन् भूयो नरा हतकक(कि)या ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ---
 [के] ग[त]ा न हि पंचतां(ताम्) ॥(1) स्फुटमिति [वचो] धृत्वा चित्ते
 [चिरं प]रिभाव्य च स्वहितकरणे यत्नं(त्नो) नित्यं जनाः प्रविधीयतां(ताम्) ॥(1)
- 30 १५६¹ न[लिनीदलजलतरलं धनयौव[न] [*]
 [णां] निजम[नसि] चिरं विचिंत्येति ॥१५७²॥ अथ राउलश्रीतेजसिंहवर्षनं ॥
 धर्मं [य]स्य मतिर्नति[गुरु]जनि
- 31 प्रीति³ सदा सद्गुणे दत्तिः पात्रगणे रणे च [निहतिः सद्भिः समं संगतिः ।
 नैति*]⁴ [लौ]किककर्मनर्मसुविधौ निर्वृत[लोभोदतिस्तेज]सिंहनरा[धि]पो विज-
 यतां तां प्राप्य राज्यश्रियं(यम्) ॥१५८⁵ पद्मा-
- 32 च्यंङ्गिकर[इयः करिकराकारोरुजं][घा] ॐ --- ॐ ॐ --- ॐ ॐ --- ॐ ॐ
 [गं ना]भिं च रोमावली(लीम्) ॥(1) वि[स्ती]र्षां हृदयेतुलेलिकतटे सत्कंठ
 आचूचुकात् सुम्रुस्म(श्म)शुशिराः सुतीक्ष्ण[न-
- 33 यनो] भक्त्या युतो भूपतिः ॥१५९⁶ इति राउलश्रीतेजसिंहवर्षनं ॥ अथ
 राउ*]लश्रीसमरसिंह[व]र्षनं ॥ इह हि समरसिंहस्तस्य पुत्रः [सुवा]हस्त्रि-
 भुवनपरिसंपत्की(सर्पत्की)र्त्तिगंगाप्रवा[हः] ॥(1)
- 34 [ध]रति [धरणि]भावं कूर्मपृष्ठा(ष्ठा)वतारं [निजकरकमलेनास्थापनाय प्रजातः*]⁷
 ॥१६०⁸ अज[नि] समरसिंहः कौस्तुभः चौरसिंघाविव निधिरधिधानामन्ववायेच
 भूपः ॥(1) अधिगतपरभागः [पुं]ड-
- 35 [रीकाक्षवक्षः]स्थलप[रि]सरधृत्या प्रा[प्तसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीः*]⁹ ॥१६१¹⁰ [दुर्गे] श्रीचिचकूटे*]¹⁰
 [विल]सति [नृ]पतौ सर्वसामंतचूडारत्नप्रद्योतितांङ्गावभवदिति मतिर्दृक्कथं संप्र-
 याति ॥(1) सत्यं कृष्णः स क-

¹ Metre: *Haripā.*

² The metre here seems to be *Upagiti* but the exact number of syllables (short and long) is difficult of determination.

³ Read *prīti*.

⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 52. The difference in reading is in *sadā sad-gurau. Tējahsīnha and samprāpya rājya.*

⁵ The metre here requires a long syllable. Read *Tējah*.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 53.

⁸ Metre: *Mālini.*

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 54.

¹⁰ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

- 36 [शोभवदुचितमिदं क]त्तिवा[साः शिवो][भूच्छीतांशुः प्रत्यहं यत्क्षतिमतिकलुषा*]¹
[युक्त]सितहभार ॥१६२² अमरनगरजैत्रं चित्रकूटं पुरास्मिन् भवति समरसिंह(हे)
शासति क्षोणिपाल(ले) ॥(1) क-
- 37 [नककलशहे]ला[प्रस्फुरद्रश्मिजा][लैर्दिनमणिकिरणालीसंप्रकाशानपेक्षं(क्षम्)*]³ ॥१६३⁴ जगति
कति न संति प्रार्थितार्थप्रदानप्रकटितनिजशक्तिव्यक्तकीर्त्तिप्रपंचाः ॥(1) परमिह
पर-
- 38 [लोकश्री]वशीका[र]सारं [अयति] स[मर][सिंहो दानमस्ताभिमानः*]⁵ ॥१६४*⁶
[कचित्कदाचिद्वा*]⁶[नां]बु हस्तो वर्षति वा न वा ॥(1) श्रीमत्समरसिंहस्य
स तु सर्वत्र सर्वदा ॥१६५⁷ किं कोप्यहो समरसिंह-
- 39 [नरेश्व]रस्य सदैयसौ(शौ)[र्य]नयकी[र्त्ति][कलाकलापं(पम्) । संख्यातुमत्र पटुधीर्भवि-
तायवास्ते तस्मा*]⁸दलं लपनपल्लवलालनेन ॥१६६⁹ विद्युद्भिन्नमर्चचलं खलु नृणा-
मायुर्धनं यौवनं संचिह्येति चि-
- 40 [रं] विशुद्धमनसा [की]र्त्तिः परं [स्थायि][नो । चंद्राख्यप्रिययान्वितः स्वयमयं
धरिश्चरः कारितो*]¹⁰ [ल]क्ष्मीर्वदतीव संनिपतता धाराभसात्रानिशं(शम्) ॥१६७¹¹
कैकी कस्मादकस्मादनुसरति सुदं
- 41 [किं म]रालः क[रा]लो वाचा[ल]क्षातकः[[किं किमिति तरुशिखासंगतोयं वकीटः ।
नैषा वर्षाघना*]¹²ली विलसति भुवने किंतु भोजप्रयाणे लक्ष्यं नैवांतरिक्षं
चलितहयखुरोद्धतधृ-
- 42 लीपटेन ॥१६८² तु[रंगलाला*]¹³गजदान[नीरप्र][वाहयोः संगममुद्गहंती । अस्य प्रयाणे
निखिलापि भूमिः*]¹³ प्रयागलक्ष्मीं बिभर्षावभूव ॥१६९¹⁴ आकर्ष्य पन्नगीगीतं
यस्य बाहुपराक्रमं(मम्) ॥(1) शिर-
- 43 खालनया शेष[खक्री कं]पं [प]रं सुवः¹⁵ ॥१७०⁷ यं त्या[गिन मनोहरेण कतिनः
कर्णोयमाचक्षते यं पार्थ प्रथयति वे*]¹⁶रिसुभटाः शौर्येण सत्वा(त्वा)धिक(कम्)
॥(1) यं रत्नाकरमामनंति गुणिनो धैर्येण मयोदया

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

² Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 56.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 57.

⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 58.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 59.

⁶ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 60.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 17 and 61 respectively. It will be seen that in the former it describes prince Bhōja and not Samarasimha.

⁸ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 34 and 62 respectively. In the former it describes prince Mahāyaka.

⁹ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹⁰ This verse is no. 37 and 63 in B and D respectively. In the former it describes prince Khummāna.

¹¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 48 and 64 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Śaktikumāra is in *Tyāgēn-ārthi manō-harēṇa*.

¹² Metre : *Śārāṅgīkṛīḍita*.

¹³ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Anuśṭubh*.

¹⁵ Metre : *Śārāṅgīkṛīḍita*.

¹⁶ Metre : *Śārāṅgīkṛīḍita*.

- 44 यं मेघं हि स[मा]श्रये[ण] विबुधाः शंसन्ति सर्वोन्नतं(तम्) [॥१७१]¹ [भृगुपतिरिव
इमः² ज्ञतसंहारकारी सुरगुरुरिव शश्व*]³[न्]नी(त्री)तिमार्गातुसारौ ॥(1) स्मर
इव सुरतेषु प्रेयसोचित्तहारी शिविरिव स बभूव वस्तस-
- 45 त्वो(त्त्वो)पका[री] ॥१७२⁴ यस्य धनुर्गुणकिण्वति [विभ्रति विश्वभरां भुजादंडे ।
क्षेत्रविशेषमशेषं शेषः परिहृत्य सु*]⁵दितोस्ति ॥१७३⁶ योर्यान् पुष्योऽर्धजनाय-
मेव सन्नोतिदक्षो व्यसनैर्विहीनः ॥(1) विहीनसं-
- 46 सर्गप[रा]राष्ट्र(क्ष)खस्य स्त्रीसंग्रहो यस्य सुतार्थमासीत्*]⁷ [॥१७४]⁸ [तस्यामतिरतिरभव-
त्तस्य सतीष्वपि वधूषु रम्या*]⁹सु ॥(1) अन्याशु(सु) पुष्यजातिषु जात्यां
खलु मधुकरस्येव ॥१७५⁶ स रत्नसिंहं [त]नयं नियुज्य स्वं
- 47 [चित्र]कूटाचलरक्षणाय ॥(1) महेशपू[जा]हृतकल्मषौघ इलापतिः स्वर्गपतिर्बभूव*]¹⁰
[॥१७६⁸ अथ म*]¹¹हाराणाञ्चौलष(ख)मसौवर्षनं ॥ पुं(खुं)माणवंशः¹¹ खलु लक्ष्म-
सिंहस्तस्मि¹² गते दुर्गवरं ररत्न ॥(1) कुलस्थि-
- 48 [तिं] कापुरुषैर्विमुक्तां न जातु धीराः [पुरुषा][स्यजन्ति¹³ ॥१७७*]⁸ [क्षित्वा श*]¹⁴
[स्ता]णि श[स्त्रै]रथ रथनिकरैर्घातयित्वा रथोद्यानश्चानश्चैर्निहत्य प्रबलतरगजान्
पातयित्वा गजैश्च ॥(1) हत्वा योधांश्च योधैरतिश-
- 49 कनिधनाकालकालोपमेयो लक्ष्मीसिंहश्चकारातुलतुमुलम[लं] संगरं सं[गरत्न]ः ॥१७८¹⁵
इत्थं स्नेच्छन्[यं] कृत्वा संख्ये संव[त्सरं] नृपः ॥(1) चित्रकूटाचलं रत्न
शस्त्रपूते दिवं ययौ¹⁶ [॥१७९¹⁷ ॥ सं १५१७ वर्षे] ॥[*]

¹ Metre: *Sardulavikridita*.

² Better omit *visarga* and read *dripta-kshatra*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 50 and 65 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Amraprasāda, is in *rati-lōla-prēyasi-chitta-chārī*.

⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 66.

⁶ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 67.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 68. The verse obviously seems to contain a partial description of some royal damsel. It is indiscriminately fitted in both these records successively, having been borrowed from some other record.

¹⁰ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 69.

¹¹ Better read *Khumāna-varṣyāḥ*.

¹² Read °s=taśmin.

¹³ This verse is no. 77 in D.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 78.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sragāharā*.

¹⁶ This verse is no. 79 in D.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

No. 45.—KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Kāman, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the State of Bharatpur in Rājputāna, is situated in 27° 39' N. and 77° 16' E. about 35 miles North by West from Bharatpur and about 40 miles from Mathurā. There are several derivations given of the place-name. According to one account the old name of the place was Kadambavana from the numerous Kadamba trees found there; another account traces the present name to a mythical Rājā Kāmasēna¹, while according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji it is derived from Kāmavana². In the middle of the town there is an old fort which contains a mosque called Chaurāsi Khambā built with materials from Hindu temples. A Sanskrit inscription on one of the pillars built into the inner side of the court-wall of this mosque has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is undated, but according to the Pandit it can be referred to about the eighth century A.D. It records the building of a temple of Vishṇu by a prince of the Sūrasēna dynasty.

The present inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was brought to my notice by Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra, who kindly furnished me with two excellent estampages and a photograph of it. The stone which bears this record is said to have been obtained from a large well situated about half a mile outside Kāman. It is now at Gokul in the possession of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj Gosai who very kindly allowed Mr. Agrawala to copy it. Kāman is one of the twelve holy places of the Vraja Maṇḍal and is also one of the headquarters of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj. The same stone contains another record in Persian embossed letters on the reverse side.³ I feel deeply grateful to the Gosai Maharaj for permission to edit the present record.

The writing covers a space 2' 2" broad by 1' 8½" high. There are twenty-four lines in all, of which the last is only one-third of the rest. The inscription has been very badly mutilated especially in lines 1-12 where only about a dozen *aksharas* at either end are now legible. Even in the lower half of the record where the writing is better preserved, a few *aksharas* here and there have been completely damaged, while some others can be read only with patience and perseverance from the faint traces which can still be marked on the back of the impressions. The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. They are very beautifully written and skilfully incised, the strokes for medial vowels being ornamentally treated as in the Jhālrapāṭan inscriptions.⁴ Especially noteworthy are the signs for the medial *ā*, *i* and *ī* and the diphthongs. These appear in many

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rājputāna*, pp. 338-39.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

³ [This record was copied by me in January, 1937, and has been noticed in the *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, for 1936-37. The stone, I was told by the Gosai Maharaj himself, came out of the well which was re-excavated at his instance. A number of broken Hindu images also came out of it some of which were seen placed near the well when I visited Kāman. The inscription seems to have been deliberately damaged, probably by the Muslim invaders. Mr. G. Yazdani has kindly sent me the following translation of the Persian record which is incised on the other side of the stone:

"The well was originally excavated some 50 years ago; but was filled up with stone and earth during the governorship of Muḥammad Hājī. As the scarcity of water was causing trouble to people the well was re-excavated in the month of Ramzān 669 H. (A.D. 1271) during the reign of Ghiyāthud-d-Dīn Balban, and the government of Nuṣrat Khān, the fief-holder of Bayāna."

This record is under publication in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180 ff.

cases on the top of letters and their flourishes extend to several letters on the right and left, which, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the original, cause not a little confusion in decipherment. Some of the letters such as *j* and *r* appear more developed here than in the other inscription from Kāman edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. It may again be noted that the signs for the medial *i* and *ī* in the latter record do not appear wholly over the top of letters as they do in the present one.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening *ōm namaḥ Śivāya* and the particulars of the dates here and there, the whole inscription appears to have been metrically composed. The verses are not numbered and in the present damaged condition of the record it is not possible to state their total number. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* and *vice versa* (see *tritīyāyām* l. 13 and *chatastrīmśan*= l. 18), of *v* for *b* (as in *Kamvali* l. 23), and of *m* for *anusvāra* and *sh* for *visarga* (see *Samvat* l. 13 and *-āvikalpatash=pratiṃśan* ll. 16-17), unless the latter is meant to be the sign for *pratiṃśan*.

The present record is of the same type as the *Sīyaḍḍṇī*¹ and *Āhār*² inscriptions, being a collective public copy of a number of deeds recording donations and endowments made from time to time in favour of a deity, apparently Śiva, installed in a temple at Kāmyaka. The record itself is not dated but its preserved portion contains **seven dates** of an unspecified era ranging from the **year 180 to 299**. The month, fortnight and *tithi* were stated in each case, but some of these particulars have now become illegible in two cases. As the week-day or the *nakshatra* has not been specified in connection with any of them, the dates do not admit of verification, but the palæography of the record leaves no doubt that they must be referred to the **Harsha era**. It may be noted in this connection that Kāman is only about 85 miles south-west of Āhār, the stone inscription of which contains several dates of the Harsha era. If we except the date 563 of the *Pañjaur* inscription, the year 299 mentioned towards the close of the present record is the latest known date of this era. The dates mentioned here thus range from A.D. 786-87 to 905-06.

The unsatisfactory condition of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. It falls into two parts which are separated from each other by an ornamental figure in l. 12³. The first part, which is almost wholly effaced, probably contained a description of the person who built the temple of Śiva where the present record was evidently put up and of the Śaiva Āchāryas who were successively in charge of it, while the second part registers the deeds recording the donations and endowments made to the deity from time to time.

After the customary obeisance to Śiva, the record seems to have had two verses invoking blessings of that deity. The third line mentions a Brāhmaṇa (*Bhaṭṭa*) named Kakkuka, who lived in a place the name of which appears to be Rōhītaka. He is described as a destroyer of his enemies. The next line speaks of several sons, apparently of this Kakkuka, who attained noble fame by their excellent qualities. The eldest of them whose name appears to be Untaṭa⁴ is described in l. 6. The next two lines speak of a temple (*maṭha*), apparently of Śiva, erected by the same person, having realized the transitoriness (of earthly fortune). The following three or four lines (9-12) mentioned some successions of Śaiva ascetics, but unfortunately almost all their names are lost⁵.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff.

³ There is a similar figure in l. 11 also.

⁴ One Untaṭa is also mentioned in l. 19.

⁵ The name of one of them mentioned in l. 10 appears to be Guṇarāśi.

The second part of the record which begins in line 12 registers the following documents :—

Document No. I (ll. 12-13). This is **undated**. It records that the *Gōshthikas* (members of the Managing Committee) made a permanent endowment of something, which they had acquired, evidently in favour of the deity.

Document No. II (l. 13). This document is dated in the **year 22(x)**¹ on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of some month, now lost. It records some donation of a merchant named Vajraṭa.

Document No. III (ll. 13-17). This is dated in the **year 229** on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha. It records the gift of two plots of land situated inside the *kōṭṭa* (fort) by some one whose name occurring in the beginning of line 15 is now missing. The first of these was bounded on the east by the house of one Kṛishṇāka, on the south by a small well and on the west and north by an old royal road. The second plot of land which was situated in the eastern part of the fort was bounded on the east and the south by a royal road and in the other directions (*i.e.*, the west and the north) by the land of the temple (*sthāna*) and a small habitation. These gifts were made in favour of a deity (probably Śiva) whose name appears to be Kāmyakēśvara. It is further recorded that a guild of potters living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money received in advance, stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one *pana* per wheel every month.

Document No. IV (ll. 17-18). This is dated in the **year 232** on some *tithi* now lost, in the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. It records that the guild of gardeners living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently sixty garlands, of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Viṣṇu and the remaining (twenty-six) at the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā.

Document No. V (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 233** on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pauṣha. It records that the guild of artisans living in the place (*i.e.* in Kāmyaka), in consideration of an amount received in advance, made a permanent endowment. Every artisan who worked in the place was to pay one *dramma* per month.

Document No. VI (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 220** on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It registers that a man named Untaṭa piously denoted three plough-measures of land in his own village, the name of which has not been preserved. The land was previously tilled by the Brāhmaṇas Sāhulla, Jajja and others and was, at the time of the gift, cultivated by one Ēḍuvāka.

It is further laid down that whatever would be produced in the case of all these permanent endowments should be added to the capital²; for such is the law (*sāstra*) of endowments.

Document No. VII (ll. 21-22). This is dated in the **year 180** on the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It records that two *āvāris* (enclosures), facing the west and situated outside the fort, were donated by a *sāmkhika* (a worker on conch-shells) named Bhadra by means of a written deed.

Document No. VIII (ll. 22-24). This is dated in the **year 299**³ on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. It records that some *drammas* were formerly (*purā*) made over by

¹ The third figure of the date is illegible.

² The meaning of this is not clear. Perhaps it is intended to provide that if the amount of the endowment or the property increased in value, the benefit of it was to accrue to the donee.

³ Of the three figures of this date I take the last two as denoting 9, though they are dissimilar. Of the two figures in question the second is the usual one for 9; the first also has the same value in l. 21 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka (above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96). In the Chaulukya grant of Trilōchanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plates I and II between pp. 202-203) both the signs are used to denote 9.

Bhōjadēva to **Pramāṇarāśi**, which the latter gave to **Chāmuṇḍāka**. After his (*i.e.*, **Pramāṇarāśi**'s) death the *āchārya* (*i.e.*, **Chāmuṇḍāka** or **Chāmuṇḍākarāśi**) seems to have paid the amount to the *Goshthikas*. The latter purchased two *āvārikās* with those *drammas*. The *vithīs* or shops in the *āvārikās* were situated facing the south in the *Kambali-haṭṭa*,¹ which seems to mean a part of the town where a cattle-market was held. The rent of these *vithīs* was to be utilised by the *Goshthikas* in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights for the temples as long as the sun and the moon would endure.

The preserved portion of the inscription does not state the name of the ruling king. If any was mentioned in the introductory part of the record, it has been lost. But **Bhōjadēva** named towards the close of the record is plainly identical with the well-known Emperor **Bhōja I** of the **Pratihāra** dynasty. In the year 299 of the **Harsha** era (*i.e.*, in A.D. 905-06) **Bhōja** was dead; for, the **Unā** plates give **Valabhi** **Saṃvat** 574 (*i.e.*, about A.D. 893-94) for his son and successor **Mahēndrapāla**. **Bhōja I** was himself a devotee of **Bhagavatī** and **Vishṇu** as is evidenced by his **Barah** plate² and the **Ādivarāha** *drammas*. It is therefore interesting to note that he made over a sum of money to a **Śaiva āchārya** for the maintenance of a **Śaiva** temple.

In view of the foregoing identification of **Bhōjadēva**, it may be asked if **Kakkuka** described in line 14 is identical with his namesake who is mentioned in the **Gwalior** *praśasti* of **Bhōja** as the grand-uncle of **Bhōja**'s grandfather **Nāgabhaṭa II**. He is no doubt called here **Bhaṭṭa**, but that does not *per se* preclude the identification; for according to the **Jōdhpur**³ and **Ghaṭiyālā**⁴ inscriptions the **Pratihāras** were descended from the **Brāhmaṇa** **Harichandra** and an expression in the former record has been taken to refer to the **Brāhmaṇa** caste of the **Pratihāra** rulers of **Kanauj**.⁵ The description in l. 4 that **Kakkuka** was a destroyer of his foes shows that he was a man of warlike spirit and lends colour to his identification with the aforementioned **Pratihāra** prince. The damaged condition of the present record, however, makes its evidence doubtful. Besides, the subsequent portion, judging from the few *aksharas* that are still legible, does not appear to have contained the description of a royal family. I am therefore inclined to think that this **Kakkuka** did not belong to a royal family. As for the description that he destroyed his foes, it may have been by policy, if not by personal bravery. It is, of course, not unlikely that in that age some members of the priestly caste distinguished themselves on the battlefield, as others preferred the peaceful occupation of a farmer.

There is only one legible place-name, *viz.*, **Kāmyaka**, in the lower portion⁶ of the record, which is evidently identical with **Kāman** where the inscribed stone was found. It is now clear that its modern name is not derived from **Kadambavana**, **Kāmasēna** or **Kānavana**, but from **Kāmyakavana**⁷. As stated above, **Kāman** has still an old fort, which is clearly referred to as *kōṭṭa*

¹ *Kambali* means one having a dewlap, a bull.

² Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 279.

⁵ See Dr. D. C. Ganguli's article entitled 'Origin of the **Pratihāra** Dynasty' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, p. 343.

⁶ Line 4 of the present inscription mentions a place named **Rōhitaka**. According to the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan*, 33, 4-5), **Rōhitaka**, which lay to the west of **Delhi**, was inhabited by the **Mattamayūras**. [**Rōhitaka**, evidently same as **Rauhītaka** of the *Rājataranginī* (IV, 11) and the **Lākhā Maṇḍal** *praśasti* (above, Vol. I, p. 14), is to be identified with modern **Rōhtak**, 43 miles N. W. of **Delhi**.—Ed.]

⁷ This **Kāmyakavana** is evidently different from the **Kāmyakavana** of the *Mahābhārata*, where the **Pāṇḍavas** sojourned for a short time during their exile; for, the latter was situated on the bank of the **Sarasvatī**. See the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparvan* (**Bombay** recension), *adhya* 6, vv. 1-3. **Cunningham** has identified it with **Kāmōda** near **Kurukshetra**. See his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

in ll. 13 and 15 of the present record. The inscription edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was on a pillar of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. The present record, on the other hand, seems to have been put up at a temple of Śiva under the name Kāmyakṣvara, which must have been situated not far from the well outside the fort where the stone was found. There were, besides, two subsidiary shrines dedicated to Vishṇu and Chāmundā. These temples were evidently placed in charge of Śaiva āchāryas of the Pāsupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee (*Gṛahī*) appointed for the purpose. That the Pāsupata sect of Śaivism was flourishing in the north-west of India in the time of the Pratihāra Bhōja I is also shown by the Sirsa inscription¹ of his reign, edited by the late Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni.

Our inscription throws interesting side-light on some transactions of guilds in ancient India. When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of materials for the worship of a deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with a guild. In the latter case the guild sometimes stipulated to pay perpetually a definite amount or a particular rate of interest on the amount deposited with it. Our inscription shows that the guild sometimes did not pay out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member of it working in that particular locality. The inscription mentions three such guilds, viz., those of potters, artisans and gardeners. We find that the members of the last guild were to pay in kind, while those of the first two had to pay a small cess probably because the articles manufactured by them were not regularly required for the use of the temple. We notice again that the guilds comprised all the members of their respective professions; for in two cases our inscription explicitly states that every one who followed the particular profession in Kāmyaka was to contribute a fixed amount. We are not told how the investments received by the guilds were utilised. But it would not be wrong to infer that they were expended on some works, religious or secular, such as those enumerated by Brihaspati,² which were regarded as useful to all the members of the guild. The guilds had evidently the necessary sanctions to secure the timely payment of the cess which they levied on their members. From the *Brihaspati-smṛiti* (XVII, 13)³ we learn that they could impose a fine or even exile a member who refused to perform his part of the agreement. Again, both the *Arthaśāstras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* mention *Śrēṇī-bala* or the army maintained by guilds, which even kings were not loth to use for their conquests⁴. The guilds could, therefore, be trusted to collect the stipulated amount from their members and pay it regularly to the beneficiary of the endowment.

TEXT.⁵

1 [ओ नमः] शिवाय । — — — — — [वि*]स्तुतफण ७ ७ — — ७ —
— ७ — — — — — स हस्ते ७ ७ ७ सुतया कंकणं भौम-
सुचैः [१*] पाणि[प्रे ?]-

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 294 ff.

² See the *Brihaspati-smṛiti*, XVII, 11 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 347-48).

³ Cf. R. C. Majumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 51 ff. See also Kātyāyana cited in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (ed. by J. R. Gharpure), p. 226.

⁴ Bhaṭārka the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi is, for instance, said to have obtained royal fortune with the help *inter alia* of the *Śrēṇī-bala*.

⁵ From inked impressions.

- 2 — पर(?)वाङ्मयचकित[दल] — ७ नस्मे ७ — — — — — ७ — — ७
 ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — 1[॥*] 2दन्तुरैः शितत-
 रोस्मिन्पाल-
- 3 . . . सुचितशिरो 3जटावि[कट]जूटको
 4च्छि[ता]: ॥
- 4 [रो]होतकेभवद्भट्टः ककुको[रि]विमर्दनः⁵ 1[॥*] 6प्य वपु[र्यो]
 7सदाः पुत्रा-
- 5 [स्तस्य] व(व)भूवुरुत्तमगुणप्रख्यातसत्कीर्त्तयः⁸ [॥*]
 9टका इव ॥
- 6 . . [भ]ट्टो[न्त ?]टो ज्येष्ठः सामान्य[प्रगु]णोद[यः ?]¹⁰ 9त
 विशदवेद्या-
- 7 न्य[स्था]ने वाभिजात्यं इति जगति वि[शुद्धं दृ]श्यते¹¹ 9मवेत्य
 चलामि-
- 8 . . हैकीं मठमिदं 12मेतत् । प्रव-
- 9 12च्छिथीभव[त्*] ते योध्या-
- 10 . . [काख्यां] गतः । नानाव 13 गुण[राशिस्त[च्छि]थ्यः सच्च[-
 [रि]तैर्यो व(व)भूव गु-
- 11 गुणराशिः¹⁴ । तच्छिथ्यः 15हरिः स्वयं ।
 प्रेयसीमिव . . . [झुता]कीर्त्तनं भव[तु तावद]क्षयं¹⁶॥ ॐ ॥

¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

² Unless stated otherwise, the number of dots approximately represents that of missing *aksharas*.

³ Here about 30 *aksharas* are gone.

⁴ Here about 11 *aksharas* are gone.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Here about 25 *aksharas* are gone.

⁷ Here about 8 *aksharas* are missing.

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Here about 36 *aksharas* are illegible.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹² Here about 44 *aksharas* are gone.

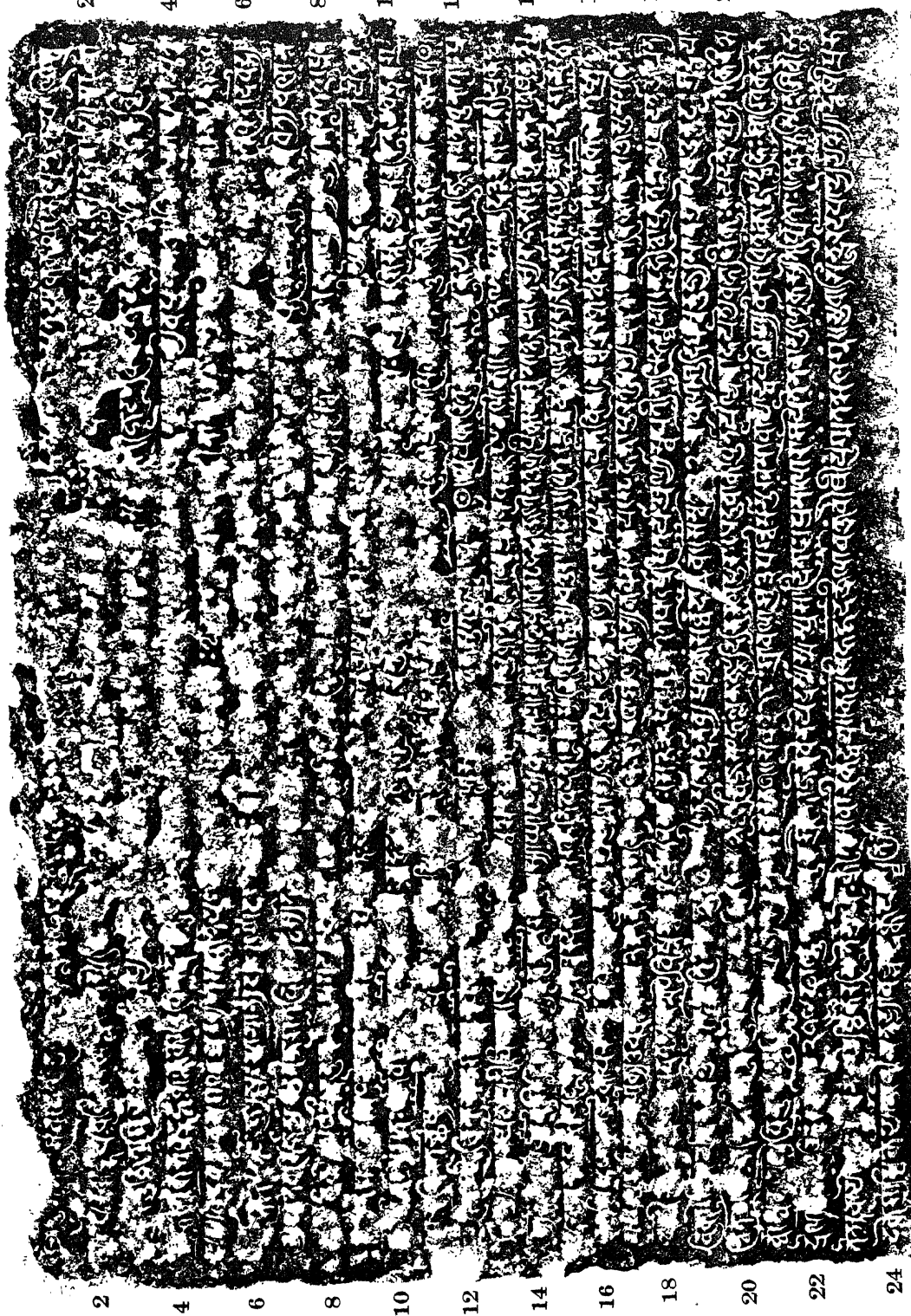
¹³ Here about 35 *aksharas* are lost.

¹⁴ Metre: *Ghṛī*.

¹⁵ Here about 17 *aksharas* are illegible.

¹⁶ Metre: *Rathōddhatā*.

KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS.

- 12 क्षिता[न्म ?] नव र्णस् सुत
 १॥०॥ स्वयं कारित — — णां [स्मिष्टि] कैर्भाः पुरार्जिताः ।
 अधुना ताः प्र-
- 13 — — — [स्तुप्त ?] येक्षयनीविकाः^२ ए [स*][स्व]त्^३ [२२]^४ .
 ^५शुक्लत्रि(तु)तीयायां प्र[ददौ] व[ज्र]टी वणिक् ॥ सं २२८
 [मा]घशुदि ३ श्री[का]म्यकौयकीष्टा-
- 14 [भ्यन्तरे प्रा*][च्यदिशि] [स्थितं ।*] [खण्ड*]द्वयं [भूमिरा][शे*]र्यस्याघाटा व्यव-
 [स्थि]ताः ॥ पूर्व्वेण कृष्णाकण्टहं दक्षिणेन तु कूपिका [।*] पश्चिमोत्तरयो-
 स्तस्य राजमार्गश्चिरन्तनः ।[।*] तथान्यत्सु
- 15 ८ न ८ ८ ८ ८ यट[स्तु][ना । का*][म्यके]खरदेवा[य भूमि*]ख[ड] निवे-
 दितं ।[।*] पूर्व्व[स्वां] दिशि कीटस्य चतुराघाटशोधितं । पूर्व्वदक्षिणयोस्तस्य
 राजमार्गस्तथान्ययोः ।[।*] दिग्भागयो^६ स्था-
- 16 [नभूमिस्तथा च] कुटिकापरा [] [त*]थैव [कुम्भका*][राणां] श्रेण्या ^७काम्यकस्थया
 ।[।*] उत्त[मं*] मूल्यमादाय प्रदत्ताक्षयनीविका [।*] यश्चात्र चक्रम्वाहयति^८
 तेन तेनाविकल्पतप्पति^९
- 17 [मासं प्रदातव्यं] [प*]णि(खै)क्यं तु चक्र[क]^{१०} [।*] [स*] २३२ वै[शाख]शुदि .^{११}
 [मा*]लिकानां तथा श्रेण्या काम्यके वसमा[न]या^{१२} गृहीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं
 प्रदत्ता[क्ष]यनीविका ।[।*] देया कुसुममालानां
- 18 षष्टिः प्रतिदिनं [शुभा] । चत[स्तु]श[न्मठे]^{१३} विष्णोश्चा[सु]गढायास्तथा[परा]ः ।[।*]
 सं २३३ पौष शुदि ७ तथाऽ[प्रो]षितया श्रेण्या स्थपतीनामिहस्थया । गृ-
 हीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं प्रदत्ताक्षयनी-

^१ A verse of the *Anushṭubh* metre is almost wholly lost here.

^२ Metre from here to the end (except for a hemistich in l. 23 below) : *Anushṭubh*.

^३ Read संवत्.

^४ The third figure of the date is illegible.

^५ There is space for four *aksharas* here and the last *akshara* looks like *sha*, so the month may be *Mārgaśīrsha* ;
 -or it may be *Pausha* if the name of the month formed part of the following verse.

^६ The *visarga* is omitted here in accordance with the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

^७ The metre requires an additional *akshara* like *cha* to be supplied here.

^८ Read चक्रं वाहयति.

^९ Read तेनाविकल्पतः । प्रति-

^{१०} Probably प्रतिचक्रकम् is the intended reading.

^{११} The figure of the *tithi* is illegible.

^{१२} This is incorrect for वसन्त्या.

^{१३} Read चतुस्त्रिंशन्मठे.

- 19 विका ।[*] यो यो[क्ष कर्म कुरु]ति स्थपति[स्तेन] तेन तु [*] द्रुमैक्य(क्यं)
सामन्दातव्यं प्रत्येकं सर्वदा [ध्रु]वं ॥ सम्वत्¹ २२० आवण शुदि ५ स्वभु-
ज्यमानग्रामे च उन्तटः अद्वया-
- 20 न्वितः । अदा[²क्षि]हलिं भूमिमे[क] ७ ७ ७ — [भि]धे ॥ या कृष्टा द्विज-
साहुल्लज्जा³दिभिरलं पुरा । एडुवाकोधुना याञ्च वाहयत्येव ज्वालिकः ॥ यद-
क्षोत्पद्यते किंचित्-
- 21 व्वास्व[क्षय*][नौ]विषु । ७ ७ धि ७ ७ — योज्यं मध्यमे [शास्त्र]मेव तत् ॥
संवत् १८० आवण शु ३ पश्चिमासुखमावार्योर्द्वयं लेख्यविशोधितं [*]
कोटाद्व(द्व)हिः शाखिकेन भ-
- 22 द्रेण ७ ७ — [दित]⁴ ॥ [सम्वत्]⁵ २८८ फागुन [शु २] [पु]रा श्रीभोजदेवेन
ये द्रुमास्त्रस्यसादिताः । प्रमाणराशये तेन चामुण्डाकस्य तेर्पिताः ॥ तत-
स्तस्मिन् शिवीभू-
- 23 ते आचार्यो ७ ७ — ७ ना⁶ ॥ गोष्ठिकैरपि तै [द्रुमैः] क्रीतमावारिकाद्वयं ॥
कम्ब(म्ब)लिहटे दक्षिणवक्त्रं वीथीयुग्मं तत्संलग्न⁷ ॥ सुधासिन्दूरदीपाद्यैर्यत्नयाद्वी-
थीप्रभा-
- 24 टके [*] गोष्ठिकैर्योजनीयन्तद्यावच्च[न्दा*]कुर्यो⁸ [स्थि]ति[ः] ॥

¹ Read संवत्.

² One *akshara* is missing here. Read अददक्षिहलिं.

³ What look like two *anusvāras* on ज्जा are probably due to faults in the stone.

⁴ Some reading like मदेणैतन्नवेदितं is intended here.

⁵ Read संवत्.

⁶ The intended reading may be आचार्यो'तेवसायिनां. The medial vowels of *sā* and *yi* can be marked on the back of the impression.

⁷ This is only a hemistich. Metre: *Mātrāsamaka*.

⁸ See note 6, p. 335, above.

V/ 15.1

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XXIV. 1937-38.



EDITED BY

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA
1942

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" 36.	Kaman Stone Inscription	to face page	334

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 8, para. 7, l. 1.—For Kharōṣṭhī read Kharōṣṭhī.
- „ 12, f. n. 1.—For Deotēk read Deotēk.
- „ 13, para. 1, l. 16.—For *Āptōryāma* read *Aptōryāma*.
- „ 16, f. n. 3.—For Raṇabhañja read Raṇabhañja.
- „ 23, para. 4, l. 6.—For Rājarājā read Rājarāja.
- „ 24, f. n. 8.—For Ēlisaimōgaṇ read Ēlisaimōgaṇ.
- „ 25, l. 2.—For Śīlāvati read Śīlāvati.
- „ 27, text l. 3.—For [Vā]ṇilaikaṇḍīsuramuḍaiya read [Vā]ṇilaikaṇḍīsuramuḍaiya.
- „ 35, para. 5, l. 2.—For Tanjai read Tanjāi.
- „ 37, f. n. 16, l. 4.—For Chaturvēdimaṅgalam read Chaturvēdimaṅgalam.
- „ 39, para. 2, l. 18.—For has to be connected read have to be connected.
- „ 46, f. n. 1, l. 4.—For Irda read Irdā.
- „ 53, l. 24.—For Duduia read Dudia.
- „ 57, para. 2, l. 1—2.—For dip-thongs read diphthongs.
- „ 66, text l. 11.—For कर्णभृञ् read कर्णभृञ्.
- „ 66, text l. 11.—For नागपालीभवत्पृथ्वी read नागपालीभवत्पृथ्वी.
- „ 70, text l. 46.—For °षणे read °षणे.
- „ 73, text l. 12.—For ब्रजपद्मकीर्ण read ब्रजपद्मकीर्ण.
- „ 74, text l. 24.—For जगतसिंह read जगत्सिंह.
- „ 76, text l. 41.—For कल्पदुसा read कल्पदुसी.
- „ 79, text l. 14.—For प्रसादार्थ read प्रासादार्थ.
- „ 81, text l. 26.—For तद्वा(द्वा) read तद्वा(द्वा).
- „ 90, para. 3, l. 4.—For first fortnight and read first fortnight of the month of Rishabha and.
- „ 90, para. 4, l. 3.—For a new read anew.
- „ 95, para. 1, l. 1.—For *Vaijyaril* read *Vaijyaril*.
- „ 95, para. 2, l. 11.—For Śīgaṇṇa read Śīgaṇṇa.
- „ 108, end of para. 1.—Add the following :—
- “On re-examining the inked impressions of the Rewa Stone inscription of Karna of the Chēdi year 800, I find that the second of the two missing *aksharas* before *nāmnā* in l. 31 is *ra*. The name of the cyclic year was, therefore, *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the date of this inscription. For the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Chēdi year 800 (A. D. 1048-49) was *Khara* according to the Northern luni-solar system.” (V. V. M.)
- „ 110, l. 7.—For Mālwa read Mālwa.
- „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—For Pēndrābandh read Pēndrābandh.
- „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—For Vol. XXII read Vol. XXIII.
- „ 133, para. 1, l. 2.—For characters read charters. (B. C. C.)
- „ 140, para. 1, l. 2.—For Uruvupalli plates of Sinhavarman read Uruvupalli grant of Sinhavarman.
- „ 154, para. 3, l. 8.—For Uḍaiyaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ read Uḍaiyaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ.
- „ 154, para. 3, l. 21.—For ‘on which *varagu*,’ read ‘on which *ellu*, *varagu*’.
- „ 154, para. 4, l. 2.—For and borne crops read and had borne crops.



- Page 162, l. 16.—For friendly relation friendly relations.
 „ 166, text l. 1.—For *P* read *Pūmalat-tiruvu[m]*.
 „ 175, text l. 37.—For *māmmāyā* read *Māmmāyā*.
 „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—For *Kaira* read *Kairā*.
 „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—For *Sāṅkhēḍa* read *Sāṅkhēḍā*.
 „ 179, para. 5, l. 13.—For *Valabhi* read *Valabhi*.
 „ 184, para. 4, l. 7. } —For *Veluṅgagunṭa* read *Veluṅgugunṭa*.
 „ 191, para. 1, l. 4. }
 „ 185, f. n. 2.—For No. 453 of 1906 read No. 543 of 1906.
 „ 185, f. n. 8.—For *Arakatavēmula* read *Arakatavēmula*.
 „ 188, para. 1, l. 11.—For *Kibbenahalli*⁵ read *Araḷaguppe*.⁵
 „ 189 f. ns. 1, 2 and 4.—For No. 309 of 1923 read No. 309 of 1922 and for No. 310 of 1923 read No. 310 of 1922.
 „ 211, para. 5, l. 5.—For *thier* read *their*.
 „ 213, f. n. 6, l. 4.—For *Chāmpaner* read *Chāmpāner*.
 „ 213, f. n. 7, l. 5.—For *goddless* read *goddess*.
 „ 214, para. 1, l. 1.—For Muslim historians) and *real* Muslim historians (and.
 „ 215, f. n. 7, l. 1.—For *tal-dēcsasya* read *tal-dēśasya*.
 „ 217, f. n. 4, l. 2.—For verse 21 read verse 22.
 „ 218, para. 5.—[In this para. Dr. Sankalia describes Jayadēva as the lord of Bāgūla and seems to hold the view that by Bāgūla the name of a country is indicated. But by the form Bāgūla a race or clan of Rāṭhods seems to be referred to. The origin of the name Bāgūla and its application to a race or clan are explained in *Rāṣṭravādīyavāṇīśānakāvya* of Rudrakavi (1596 A. D.) vide: Canto II vv. 27 ff. (M. V. R.)]
 „ 218, para. 6, l. 2.—For Śaka 1401 read Śaka 1410.
 „ 224, text l. 9.—For दं चकार read दं(सं) चकार.
 „ 225, f. n. 1.—For *puṇayam* read *puṇyam*.
 „ 233, text l. 15.—For read *viśeṣa-śāstrāṇāṃ*.
 „ 239, f. n. 10.—For *Maṭṭar-jīva-māṭṭar-jīva* read *Maṭṭar-jīva-māṭṭar-jīva*.
 „ 242, corrected text l. 1.—For उत्तरिख^० read उत्तरिख^०.
 „ 249, para. 1, l. 3.—For *Kaubidarikā* read *Kaubidārikā*.
 „ 256, l. 8 from bottom }
 „ 257, para. 3, l. 2. } —For *Dharanikōṭa* read *Dharanikōṭa*.
 „ 259, ll. 3-4. }
 „ 261, para. 2, l. 10.—For *gotra* read *gōtra*.
 „ 263, f. n. 7, l. 2.—For *Bēlorā* read *Bēlōrā*.
 „ 264, text l. 2.—For विणुवड^४ स गीवस्य सभाट^३ read विणुवडसगीवस्य सभाट^४.
 „ 279, para. 1, l. 4.—For pillar by the wife read pillar by Reti, the wife.
 „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 1.—For भूतशरावु read भूतशरावु.
 „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 3.—For व्यरचय read व्यरचय.
 „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 11.—For कलिकव्यमषा read कलिकव्यषा.
 „ 288, f. n. 5, verse l. 1.—For माध्या read माध्या.
 „ 299, f. n. 2.—For *Uruvupalli* plates read *Uruvupalli* grant.
 „ 302, f. n. 7, l. 1.—For at the first instance read in the first instance.
 „ 315, text l. 6.—For यत्तेनाया read ता.

INDEX.

By

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[The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure refers to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; C. P.=Copper-plate; *chron.*=chronicle; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; E.=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *feud.*=foudatory; *gen.*=general; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription; *inss.*=inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *lit.*=literary; *lm.*=land-measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythic or mythological; *n.*=name; N.=Northern; *off.*=office or official; *q.*=queen; *rel.*=religious; *ri.*=river; S.=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *t.d.*=territorial division; *te.*=temple; *tit.*=title; *vi.*=village; W.=Western; *wk.*=work.]

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